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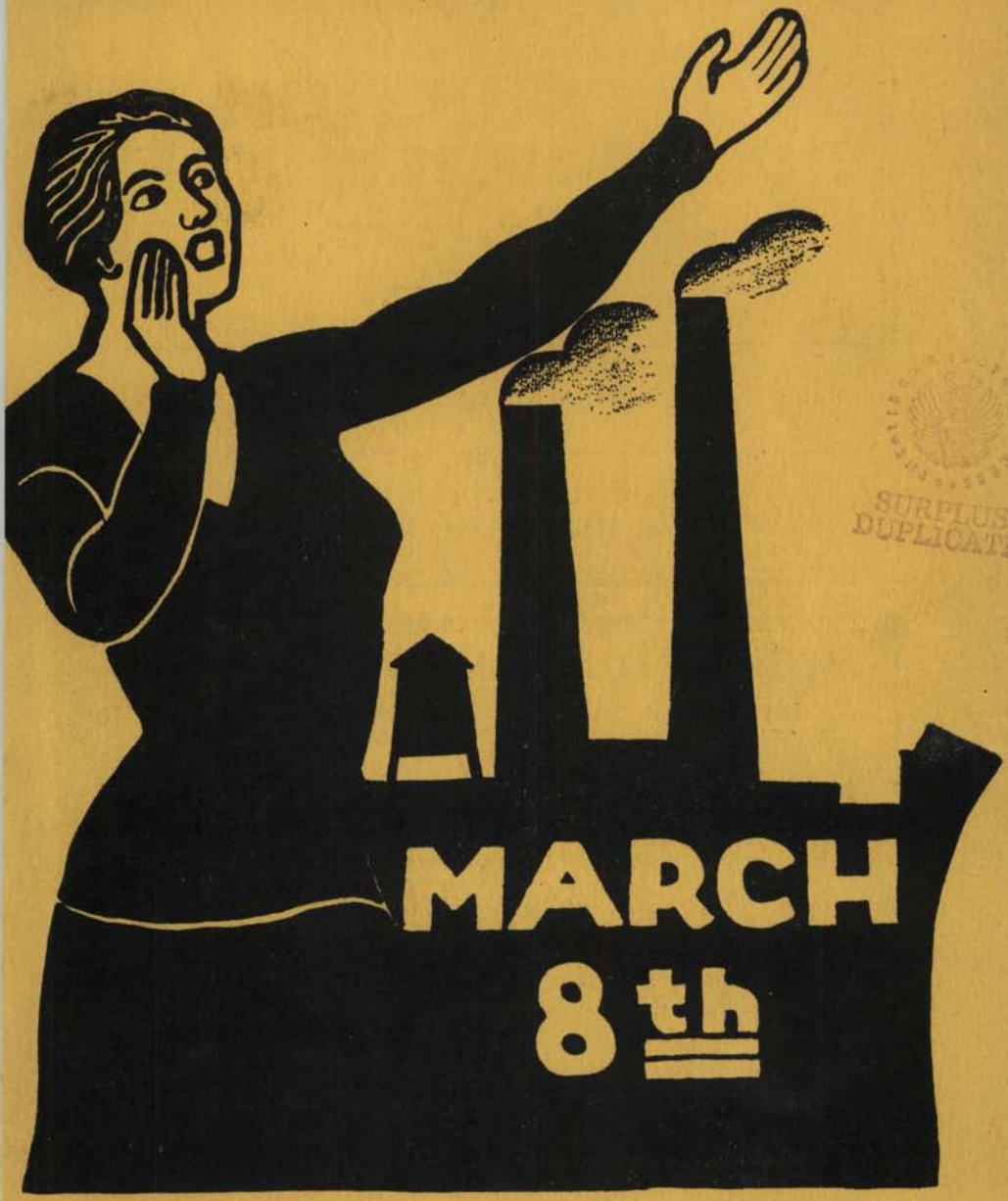

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C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the Communist Party, who died March 2, 1927, addressing an anti-war demonstration in Cleveland, 1917

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Notes of the Month

THE economic crisis continues to deepen. Where, in the last months of 1929, in the beginning of the crisis, it was expressed in downward plunge of production in the basic industries (particularly in the production of means of production), it is now reaching into every phase of economic life. There is not a family in the country which is not feeling, in one form or another, the effects of the economic crisis.

Characteristic of the crisis-development is the general decline of commodity prices, not only in the United States but throughout the world. In the U. S. this decline has already reached a general average of more than 10 per cent. This movement of prices expresses the inexorable spread of the crisis to the entire economy, in the same manner in which internationally it spreads from one capitalist country to another. The market relationship, the "spontaneous regulator" of the capitalist system of production, is at the same time too spontaneous carrier of the crisis throughout the capitalist system.

* * * * * *

HOW deep the crisis has already gone is indicated to some extent by the catastrophic condition of agriculture. After the U. S. Department of Agriculture had already issued a warning to the farmers to plan their 1930 production on the basis of 15 per cent reduction of crops, after the statisticians had already estimated a reduction of form income this year of more than a billion and a quarter dollars, after all this accumulation of disaster for the farmers came the collapses at the end of February in the price of wheat down below the level of $1 per bushel, from the high point of $1.60 last July. The decline in cotton prices has kept pace with that in wheat. It is probable that, on the basis of present prices, the agricultural income for the year will be reduced around 40 per cent. This is a smashing blow at all expectations of a rapid recovery in industry, cutting under the domestic market base to an entirely unforeseen and unprecedented extent. The agrarian crisis, intensified by the economic crash, has in turn driven the industrial crisis to new depths.

* * * * * *

UNEMPLOYMENT, which is the reflection of the crisis of capitalism in the life of the working class, is already reaching a degree rivalling that of any period in American history. While the facts are being deliberately withheld by the capitalist

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government and press, and hidden behind lying statements, they are so glaring and obvious in some of their aspects that they cannot long be hidden. Blinded by the capitalist propaganda, even many militant workers are underestimating the seriousness of unemployment. Especially is the unemployment obscured by the fact that the gigantic extent of part-time employment is entirely left out of account.

Examining what statistics are available, we can form an approximate idea of how much the working class is paying for the economic crisis. Before the crisis, when production was at its highest point in history (April, May, 1929) there was already unemployment amounting to more than 10 per cent of the working class. This is disclosed by a survey of conditions in Philadelphia, made in April by the Wharton School (University of Pennsylvania) and now published in the February issue of the "Monthly Labor Review." Philadelphia is a typical example of the general conditions of the country at that time. Conservatively estimating the number of wage workers at 30 million, this would give more than three million unemployed before the crisis broke out.

Since the onset of the crisis, production declined more than 20%. Decline in production means at a minimum an equal decline in employment, whether it be in the form of short time or complete layoff. The cumulative total of all lost time of all workers, therefore, is equal to the total unemployment of another five and a half million workers. This brings the total of present unemployment, including part time, to the equivalent of more than eight and a half million totally unemployed workers. That is, if only six millions are entirely out of work, then there must be another five million working on an average only half-time.

Or, stated in another way, the working class is receiving today more than 30 per cent less than ordinary wages. For more than six million workers this has become no wages at all.

* * * * * *

THIS deep economic crisis profoundly intensifies the general crisis of world capitalism, and sharpens all its contradictions. First of all, it sharpens the class struggle. Not only are the millions of unemployed thrown into the sharpest collision with the capitalist state, even in their most primitive strivings for relief, but the workers still in the shops and factories are the victims of another wave of speed-up and all kinds of rationalization schemes, driving them down their wages and conditions of labor, and increasing their hours. The class struggle grows more intense and assumes the sharpest forms.

In the next instance, the crisis spreads throughout the world and intensifies all the international antagonisms to the breaking point.

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This is expressed above all in the wild and ferocious campaign of incitement of the entire capitalist world against the Soviet Union, which upon the background of decaying capitalism is demonstrating the meaning of Socialist prosperity, in the tremendous successes of socialist construction under the Five Year Plan. It also shows itself in the complete inability of the imperialist powers to produce even the shadow of an "agreement" among themselves at the London Naval Conference, where before the astonished eyes of the naive believers in the "pacifist" hypocrisy of MacDonald and Hoover, there is being displayed not the much-heralded "limitation" of navies, but the most enormous navy-building program the world has ever seen. The preparations for WAR are so open, so obvious, that only fools and knaves can any longer deny or minimize the WAR DANGER.

* * * * * *

THE mobilization against the Soviet Union in the campaign inaugurated by the Pope, has been world-wide and included every counter-revolutionary instrument for creating "public opinion," preparing it for a war against the Workers' Republic. The choice of issues and slogans (defense of religion, defense of the kulaks) has been calculated in the first place to mobilize the cannon-fodder which would be the first to be thrown into such a war, namely, the Catholic peasantry of Poland and Roumania. From the Pope, the campaign has extended to the Archibishop of Conterbury, to all the Protestant sects down to the Salvation Army, to the Jewish Rabbis. With one voice the "servants of God" call for blood, for the intervention of military power. The alliance of "cross and cannon" is open and brazen.

"Cross and Cannon" also accurately describes the repulsive united front between the Pope and the Trotskyites against the Soviet Union. While the Pope raises the cry that "Stalin is murdering the priests," the leader of American Trotskyism, Mr. J. P. Cannon, raises the slogan "Stalin murders Blumkin." Thus do the Trotskyites manage to squeeze into the procession of the bourgeois crusade, earning thereby the right to set up to the servant's table at mealtime. These miserable renegades who toy with phrases about Leninism, are the most abject clowns of bourgeois counter-revolution.

* * * * * *

IN the midst of the deepening economic crisis, the sharpening class struggle, the growing unemployment, the impending disaster of war—the forces of the working class are being mobilized and whipped into the shape of organized fighting detachments. This is not only true of the capitalist countries of Europe, in many of which the proletariat collects its forces for the struggles for power,

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but also in the colonial lands and in the United States. The first step in this direction is the consolidation of the vanguard into iron-disciplined, monolithic Communist Parties under the leadership of the Communist International.

For the first time in the Unted States the forces of Comunism have achieved this consolidation. The Party is solidly united, after having vomited forth the leaders of opportunism, both the open right-wing and those masked in "left" phrases. And it has immediately proceeded, upon this basis, to gather its forces in a Recruiting Campaign which has been successful even beyond the goal which was set for it. In a sixty-day recruitment the Party went many hundreds beyond the goal of five thousand new members which it set for itself. It not only consolidated itself internally, but it renewed and strengthened its connections with the masses whom it must lead.

That the Party *is reaching the masses*, far beyond this recruiting campaign, is further witnessed by the Unemployment Campaign, which will find its first culmination in the International Day of Demonstration on March 6th. In the first month of this campaign the Party distributed more then a million leaflets, extended the circulation of its journals, sold fifty thousand program pamphlets on Unemployment, and organized preliminary demonstrations involving hundred of thousand of workers. Today in the United States, almost every literate worker knows that the only fighter for the unemployed is the Communist Party.

* * * * *

THE tactical key to the present stage of the class struggle, is the fight against unemployment. This fight is the lever by which we will put into motion the million masses of the American working class, and through their own experience in the struggle, educate them, preparing them for the greater struggles to come. From this starting point we develop the mass forces for a great campaign of organization of the unorganized workers into the fighting revolutionary trade unions. From this issue we develop the forces of the struggle against war and defense of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the toiling masses of the whole world.

International Unemployment Day on March 6th, is only one of the mobilization points for greater, broader movements and struggles. It is not the end, it is only the beginning of a great movement of the toiling masses against American capitalism.

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The Growing World Offensive Against Capitalism

By WM. Z. FOSTER

THE Tenth Plenum of the Comintern very correctly characterized the then existing world situation as "a period of the increasing growth of the general crisis of capitalism and of the accelerated accentuation of the fundamental external and internal contradictions of imperialism leading inevitably to imperialist wars, to great class conflicts, to an era of development of a new upward swing of the revolutionary movement in the principal capitalist countries, to great anti-imperialist revolution in colonial countries."

This analysis has been completely borne out by the course of events. So much is this so that the stage of world struggle is now raised to a higher stage. Quantity becomes quality. The tempo of development has been extremely rapid. The American crisis has deeply shaken and further undermined capitalist world economy, vastly intensifying the imperialist rivalries and the war danger, and laying the basis for still greater class struggles and revolutionary movements in the various industrial and colonial countries. Because of and together with this weakening of capitalism, there is growing a general surge forward internationally and a vast development and sharpening of the struggle of the workers and colonial masses against world capitalism.

It is the latter phase of the approaching struggle of the working masses that gives the main characteristic to the present world situation. The Tenth Plenum resolution correctly stated that "a new feature in the situation since the Sixth Congress is the sharply marked radicalization of the working class and the rising of the new tide of the revolutionary labor movement." Now this "new feature" becomes of decisive importance. It has been intensified and extended to such an extent that it now must be characterized essentially as a world offensive against capitalism.

This world offensive is of course not yet in full swing. But that the big movements of the workers internationally is an offensive is indisputable. It is the characteristic of the present world situation, and it is decidedly in the ascendant. The main phases of this growing world revolutionary offensive are: (1) The rapid growth of the Socialist economy of the U. S. S. R.; (2) the forward development of the revolutionary movement in the principal

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capitalist countries; (3) the development of the revolutionary struggle in China.

(a) The major phase of the present growing world revolutionary offensive of the workers is the tremendous success of the first year of the Five-Year Plan. The amazing growth of the Socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. not only smashes the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union, hastening the end of the N. E. P. period, and raising the Russian Revolution to a higher stage, but also, what is vitally important, it constitutes a powerful offensive against world capitalism. The Soviet Union assails world capitalism not only because of its very existence as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the direct clash of its Socialist economic forms against those of capitalism, but now especially it assumes an offensive form against world capitalism, because of the tremendous ideological influence the success of the Five-Year Plan will exert in inspiring the workers of the world to attack capitalism. With the development of the struggle this leadership of the U. S. S. R. in the world offensive against capitalism will be intensified and take on varied forms.

(b) The growing counter-offensive of the workers in the principal industrial countries and the increasing political character of their struggle. This has already been sufficiently noted in the large and sharply revolutionary strikes and other struggles in Germany, Poland, France, Italy, England, the United States, etc.

(c) The forward surge of the Indian revolutionary movement, marked by the recent great strikes and by the growth of the mass movement for complete independence from Great Britain. This is a great offensive against British imperialism, which the bourgeoisie leaders of the Indian National Congress attempt to head in order to reduce it to impotence.

(d) The rapid re-awakening of the Chinese revolutionary movement. This now develops by expanding strikes of the workers and wide forward movements of the peasantry, in the face of the increasingly demoralized forces of the Chinese bourgeoisie and the rival imperialisms.

These advance movements of such basic sections of the great masses of toilers can only be understood as constituting a developing world offensive. This offensive will be greatly accelerated by the present intensification of the world capitalist crisis, with its sharpening of all the inner and outer contradictions. With the shattering of the precarious stability, and the constant greater pressure on the workers in every direction, the latter's offensive will rapidly sharpen and deepen. The character of the growing world offensive of the workers at present varies from the gradually developing counter-

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offensive of the Western proletariat to the victorious advance of the Russian workers. The tendency is towards the latter, higher, more positive form of the offensive. The immediate perspective of the offensive varies in the different countries, ranging from a general broadening and deepening of strikes in some countries to movements for revolutionary seizure of power in others.

It is vitally essential that the tactic of the Comintern and the Communist Parties of the various countries be based upon leading and accelerating the developing offensive. Only in this way will a disastrous tailism be avoided in the various countries. Our line must be one of attack. There is too much of the defensive in the position of our Parties in the capitalist countries. Once these Parties definitely go over on to the offensive their power and influence will be multiplied. The greatest danger we now confront is trailing along behind the masses. The tactic of the offensive will overcome this. Our main task now is twofold: to carefully analyze the forms under which the world offensive develops, and to work and aggressively apply the appropriate policies to stimulate this offensive. This, of course, does not mean the development of putchist tactics.

The new situation confronts us with many urgent tasks, all of which must be carried out in the sense of developing the working class offensives. In this short article only a few of these may be barely indicated.

One vital phase in furthering the offensive must be an intensified attack against the social-fascists. These will become even more than ever the tools of imperialism. The attack against them will be facilitated by the growing international and national crises of capitalism (on which system they pin all their hopes) and by the great victories of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. In this situation, with the masses being rapidly radicalized, the "Left" social-democrats become especially dangerous. They will take on more militancy and more definite organizational forms in their efforts to hold the masses from developing real struggle against the capitalists.

The principle of the offensive must also be injected systematically into the strike struggles of the workers. This requires more trade union work by the Parties. The development of independent leadership of the strikes is of the essence of the offensive. Here aggressive work among the unorganized and unemployed will play a big role. Above all, to further generally the offensive, we must aim to politicalize the struggle. The political mass strike is a major slogan of the offensive.

There must be a closer working together of the Parties in the imperialist countries with the struggling masses in the colonies. This

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coordination is especially necessary now for uniting against imperialism the developing movements in the colonial and imperialist countries.

Intensification of struggle in defense of the U. S. S. R. and against imperialist war generally now becomes fundamentally important. The world bourgeoisie, seeing its own system dropping deeper and deeper into crisis, while at the same time the Socialist economy in the U. S. S. R. brilliantly succeeds and the world revolutionary movement of the workers expands and goes more and more on to the offensive, will increasingly turn to war in the hope of thereby finding a solution for its difficulties.

A key task in developing the workers' offensive is a militant propaganda of the success of the Five-Year Plan. The victorious progress of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union will be an enormous force for stirring the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working masses everywhere and intensifying their struggle against capitalism and its agency—Social-Democracy.

The systematic building of our Parties is a vital task in furthering the revolutionary offensive. With the struggle everywhere becoming keener and the mass movements of the workers and colonial masses taking on a broader and more revolutionary character, the influence of our Parties will widely extend. The question of the struggle for the majority of the working class becomes an actual one. We are now entering a period of the development of mass Communist Parties, despite all fascist attempts to smash and illegalize them. Already the German Party, by its recent growth, has given the signal of the new tendency towards the building of mass Communist Parties.

The development of the tactic of the revolutionary offensive must carry with it an intensified struggle against the Right-Wingers and conciliators in the Communist Parties. The Right danger now becomes the greater because of the sharpening of the struggle, and also because, with the influx of large masses of new members into our Parties, there will be a tendency of sections of the renegade Communists, in order to avoid isolation, to try to follow the masses into the Parties. This does not necessarily mean that the Brandlers and Lovestones will personally try for reinstatement. They will keep going to where they belong, into the ranks of the Social-Democracy. Already the Right-Wing in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has given the signal for the change in tactical line. Its "surrender" will not be without repercussions among the Right elements internationally.

What is essential in the present situation is for our Parties to definitely go over to a clearly offensive tactic. This implies first

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of all a clear analysis of the developing world offensive of the working masses, which develops out of the sharpening world crisis of capitalism. With this analysis will come a sharpening of our policies so that the progress of the offensive may be accelerated on every avenue of its advance. Thus our Parties and our movement internationally will be enabled more effectively than ever to perform their leading role in the ever-swifter march forward of the proletariat to the World Revolution.

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International Women's Day

By RACHEL HOLTMAN

INTERNATIONAL Women's Day originated from the necessity of organizing the working women in the class struggle of the working class. In order that this should be easier to carry through, the day was combined with everyday problems that the woman meets in her work and with her general economic situation in the capitalist countries.

Because of its proletarian revolutionary character the day is considered a step forward to world revolution, which will finally liberate the woman socially as well as politically and economically.

The idea of the Women's Day is approximately twenty years old. Before when the woman devoted herself to the family and home and did not take such an important part in production, she also played an unimportant part in political life.

But when the capitalist in his hunt for profits invented such machines that simplified the work and divided it, the woman stepped into production and became a cog in the industrial machine as cheaper labor power.

With the entrance of woman into industry, her position changed only to the extent that she also started to do factory work. But the house work still remained for her. So the woman is now under a double yoke: she is compelled to slave at home as well as in the factory for the man's wages are too meager to support the family.

The workers began to see the work of women in industry and began to organize them on the economic field into the unions. But that seemed to be not enough. It was necessary to organize the women on the political field as well. The bourgeois suffragettes got a hold of the working women and convinced many of them to join the ranks of the bourgeois suffrage movement which sought as their aim to equalize the man and woman through the vote. This way they put the man and woman against each other. The main stress was laid by the suffragette on sex and not on class.

In the ranks of the growing labor movement it was noticed what a bad thing bourgeois feminism was for the working woman. They put before themselves the task of getting the woman away from the influence of the bourgeois suffragettes. For this purpose, as

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far back as in 1892, a woman's magazine, "Die Gleichheit," appeared under the editorship of Clara Zetkin.

Fifteen years elapsed since this first socialist woman's magazine appeared. After so many years of propaganda and agitation for socialist thought, the first woman's conference was called in Stuttgart in 1907. Here the first International Women's Bureau was established.

Three years later a second conference was called. This time in Copenhagen, with the intentions of working out methods of socialist propaganda among women. As one of the most important methods the conference in Copenhagen pointed to International Women's Day.

The idea of International Women's Day was originated by the American Socialist Women. They met with continual difficulties in attempting to carry on socialist propaganda.

In order to make their work in this field more successful, the American women called a conference in 1904 and decided to lay aside a special day for agitation among women. Equal rights was at that time a very popular idea. Therefore they put forward that, as their main point, and that was their slogan on Women's Day.

At that time there were working among the suffragettes in America quite a few active women socialists. These soon resolved themselves into two groups and began to fight among themselves for the class line.

One group of socialist women said that the working women in America should not collaborate with those women whose sole aim was equal rights. The other group was of the opinion that the feminists were good "comrades," for they did not make any distinction between rich and poor. That is why many of them joined the movement and with their active participation helped to strengthen the suffragets.

This goes to show how "class conscious" the American socialist women were. Instead of pointing out to the working women the evil consequences of getting together on one united front with the feminists, instead of pointing out that collaboration means doing away with the class line drawn between the bourgeois and working class, instead of all these, they tried to work together with their enemies, the bourgeois women.

The Second International Women's Conference in 1910 in Copenhagen considered the organization of International Women's Day as a means of drawing the women into socialist activity. For this reason the celebration was embodied organizationally also in Europe. Only there it received a new content.

Clara Zetkin brought forth a proposal to single out a day for

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International Women's Day. In the resolution that was brought up at the conference by the German women's delegation, they emphasized time and again the significance of equal rights for women. At the same time they criticized those working proletarian organizations which were working together with the bourgeois women's movement.

Before the World War the first International Women's Day was celebrated not only in Germany, but in Austria, Denmark, Switzerland as well. Each year the number of countries taking part grew. France was added, then England, etc.

Finally, came the historic year of 1914. In Germany this day was celebrated for a whole week. The "Red Week" it was called. That was the last celebration under socialist leadership. The World War gave a terrible set-back to the International Women's Movement. Only in 1915 a conference of women in Berne was called under the leadership of Lenin. At this conference the Russian delegation introduced a resolution which was rejected for being too revolutionary.

The Russian women at that time already had a record of many years of class struggle in the ranks of the revolutionary working class. In the uprising of 1905 the women in Russia participated in all the struggles, even in the constructing of barricades. In this manner the women got a lot of revolutionary training and became more class conscious.

The first Women's Day in Russia was celebrated in 1913, at the beginning of March. That day was celebrated by men and women Bolsheviks. With this celebration the women were taken into the general revolutionary struggle of the world.

In 1914 the first women's magazine, "Robotnitza" (The Working Woman), was issued. That was a help to mobilize the women for the class struggle, together with the working man. The following years were years of preparation for the great historic day of March 8th, 1917, which became the First Day of the Great Russian Revolution and which led to the fall of the Czar and finally the bourgeoisie.

Clara Zetkin describes this day as follows:

> "In the open square endless groups of people are promenading. They are pushing each other, highly emotional, demanding. Among them one can find workers, intellectuals, petty bourgeois, students, peasants of the neighboring villages, soldiers, cripples, wounded, ragged ones.
>
> In this kaleidoscopic mass one can see a great crowd of women. They are moving on in thick masses, led by working women from factories, united in common cause. The masses demonstrate against the power of destruction and death—against war and Czarism.

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> In front of the raving mob, which will not be scared away by the clubs of the cossacks, not even by the guns of the Czar's soldiers, women demonstratively hold their lines.
>
> A shrill, penetrating cry goes through the air. "Freedom, bread, equal rights for men and women." The strong victorious hand of the Leningrad proletariat is sounding all bells. The appearance of the women on the scene shows that the revolution has started."

On this day the women showed that they are ripe enough to fight in the revolution and could play a leading role in the future historic events. Accordingly, working women all over the world esteemed the heroic Russian women at the Second International Conference of Communist Women in Moscow. At that Congress the great historic significance of the action of the Petrograd women in the February Revolution was taken up and discussed. The Congress accepted a proposal made by the Bulgarian Women's delegates that International Women's Day be celebrated on no other than the 8th of March all over the world in honor of the heroic Petrograd working women.

So this day was put under the banner of the Russian proletarian revolution, which will ultimately grow into the World Revolution. Thus was determined the character of the 8th of March.

What, then, ought to be the aims of Women's Day? *Revolutionary mobilization of working women of all countries to serve the proletarian World Revolution.*

In a manifesto that appeared in 1921, addressed to the working women of the world, Lenin said:

> "The Communist International and the whole proletarian world will never forget that Russian women left their homes on International Women's Day to demonstrate on the streets with red banners an started the greatest of revolutions, nourishing and soaking it with their blood."

In the hard years after the victory, when all Russian men went to defend the country against the onslaught of the counter-revolutionary forces, the women with their hands and minds helped turn the wheels of industry. Women fought in spite of hunger, cold and epidemics. They dug trenches and helped the Red Army drive out the white army from Russian territory. The women even joined the Red Army and fought together with the soldiers.

The women in Soviet Russia were highly compensated for their sacrifices. The proletarian dictatorship is not satisfied with only equalizing the woman and man before the law. She is laying a strong economic foundation by drawing the woman into the building of socialist economy.

In the Five-Year Plan of construction that is being carried

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through now, the woman plays as important a part as the man. The women are trained and brought up so that they may be able to fulfill their social obligations and be useful members of society.

Each year the Communist International puts forward new slogans for that day. The slogans correspond with the economic and political situation at that moment in each country.

Since the world war, capitalism has been rocked to its very foundations. At first the bourgeoisie of the world thought that through the Dawes Plan it would be possible to stabilize capitalist economy. For this reason rationalization processes in industry were introduced. This is proving detrimental to the workers' physical health but has not resulted in capitalism stabilizing itself. World capitalism is approaching new crises which will lead to fierce battles between capital and labor. The workers are becoming poorer and are being exploited more and more. Strikes, wage cuts and unemployment are diminishing the buying power of the workers. The mass of products are losing markets for their output. In the hunt for new markets, great powers clash and this leads ultimately to war. So the cloud of a new world war is hanging constantly over us.

Depending upon the situation of the workers in the various countries, the Communist International issues International Women's Day slogans, such as:

"Strengthen the struggle against the bourgeoisie and capitalists"; "Put yourself under the leadership of the Communist Party and the C. I."; "Down with fascism and terror"; "Free the political prisoners"; "Fight for the recognition of the U. S. S. R."

In putting forward these slogans, the C. I. never fails to mention that the only way to free working women is to overthrow the capitalist order and usher in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The specific slogans for America in 1928 on International Women's Day were: "Equal pay for equal work"; "Abolition of night work for women"; "Protection of mother and child"; "Abolition of child labor"; "State insurance and sick benefit"; "More and better schools, more playgrounds"; "Medical assistance for children in the schools," and other demands which are especially concerned with women and children.

The C. I., being the advance guard of the working masses, puts before itself concrete tasks to awaken in the working women the desire to fight, to bring out in her the will to destroy the capitalist order.

International Women's Day is a means of collecting strength, arming for the revolution, which may be nearer than anyone thinks. Reformists of all types try to prolong the life of bourgeois society but they cannot protect it from its fate. Its fate is written on the

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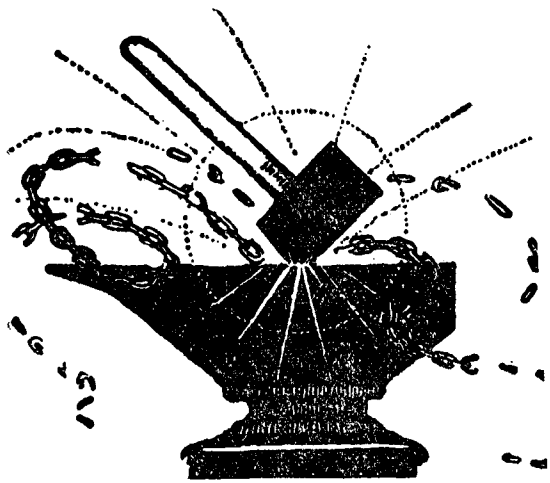
wall. They cannot prevent the death-blows that history has prepared for it. The end of the capitalist system is sure to come.

The history of the past epochs bears witness of the fact that the present epoch will change for a new one.

On International Women's Day the working women are demonstrating the desire to fight in order to help usher in a new world.



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The Rising Revolutionary Wave and Trotsky Liquidation in China

By R. DOONPING

PROSPECTS OF REVOLUTION IN CHINA*

THE inevitability of the coming of a new revolutionary wave in China was clearly pointed out by the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China which met in the summer of 1928. This epoch-making Congress, which first summarized the invaluable experiences of the Great Revolution of 1925-27, laid down, along Marxist-Leninist lines, the ideological foundation for the present stage of the Chinese revolutionary movement. The Congress clearly indicated that the bourgeois-democratic revolution was defeated, that imperialism still ruthlessly tramples China under its feet, and that the feudal classes have intensified their exploitation of the peasant masses. It further showed that the bourgeoisie, failing to get concessions from the imperialists and feudal forces, attacks the workers more sharply than ever before. This gives the broad toiling masses *no other alternative than a determined struggle.* Hence, the Congress concluded that the coming of a revolutionary wave against imperialism, feudal forces, and the bourgeoisie, is inevitable.

Now, the revolutionary perspective is clearer every day. *China has already entered the period of a profound general crisis.* One of the unmistakable signs of this period is the outstanding fact that *the position of the ruling classes has become extremely shaky.* This does not only refer to the rapidly falling prestige and authority of the Nanking Government, but also to the increasingly unstable and precarious position of the semi-feudal landlords, gentry and native bourgeoisie as the governing classes in the country in general. This is not only shown by the rapid succession of one militarist war after another in recent months, but the rising wave of the labor

* For a detailed discussion of the militarist wars and prospects of revolution in China, see the author's recent pamphlet, "Militarist Wars and Revolution in China" (in English), published by the Chinese Vanguard Publishing Co., New York City, 1930.

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movement, together with the rapid revival of the peasant movement, particularly the guerilla warfare, also point clearly to the coming of a new revolutionary upheaval that promises to uproot the Chinese semi-feudal bourgeois rulers from their present positions and establish the political power of the workers and peasants in the country.

"THE EPOCH OF THEORETICAL PRE-OCCUPATION"

It is precisely this period that Trotsky designates as the "epoch of theoretical pre-occupation" and solemnly states that "what characterizes the young Chinese revolutionists *at the present time* is the passion to understand, to study, to embrace the question in its entirety" (Militant, January 25, 1930.—emphasis mine, R. D.). Of course, no true Bolshevik scoffs at study or underestimates the importance of theoretical work. But what is important to point out here is that it is not accidental that Trotsky here *solely mentions theoretical work as the foremost task of the Chinese revolutionists and entirely substitutes study for struggle "at the present time" in China.*

"THE TRIUMPHANT BOURGEOIS COUNTER-REVOLUTION"

Trotsky sees no revolutionary perspective in China. His Menshevik prejudices have rendered him completely blind to the facts —facts that are plain and simple to the naked eye. To him the "bourgeois counter-revolution" has "triumphed" in China (Militant, December 22, 1929). Trotsky stubbornly refuses to see the predominance of the feudal element in Chinese economy and the glaringly evident feudalistic character of the present regime in China, especially in the local governments. Meditating over his past failures and mistakes, Trotsky does not only vainly try to justify his basically non-Leninist fantastic theories in regard to the Chinese revolution by picturing to himself a period of peaceful capitalistic development for China under the leadership of the triumphant bourgeoisie, but is also attempting to work out on the basis of his erroneous theories an ideological structure for a Trotskyist Opposition in China. In a letter on the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, dated September 9, 1928, Trotsky unhesitatingly blamed the Sixth Congress for not "furnishing the Communist Party of China a program of action for *the Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek through which China is now passing*" (Militant, March 15, 19299.—emphasis mine, R. D.). In place of the nine fundamental slogans* which the Sixth Congress issued for

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China, Trotsky proposed three slogans—the expropriation of lands belonging to the "landed gentry," eight-hour day, and abrogation of unequal treaties—as "absolutely necessary transitional slogans." Thus haunted by the perspective of a Stolypin period of capitalist development for China, Trotsky proposed a retreat for the Chinese revolution. He advised the Chinese revolutionists to drop such fighting slogans as "overthrow of imperialist domination," "the overthrow of the Kuomintang Government," "establishment of the power of the Soviets," and substitute them with a totally worn-out and utterly discredited Kuomintang slogan of the "abrogation of the unequal treaties"! But Trotsky's unfailing confidence in the possibility (or even inevitability) of a triumphantly successful capitalist development for China does not stop here. He even goes so far as to dream of a *parliament* in China! In the same letter, he said: "The struggle for these slogans (the three transitional slogans which he proposed) carried on also in the *parliament* (when the parliament is established) should lead, the moment the revolution begins anew, to the creation of Soviets and the battle for the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the urban and rural poor!" (Emphasis original.) "When the parliament is established"! In China? This is so unbelievable that one is likely to be tempted to think that Trotsky is talking in his sleep! But unfortunately for him, he seems to be wide awake. He does not only stubbornly insist that he is right but also throws accusations about, charging others with misjudging the Chinese situation.

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* The fundamental slogans, through which the Party must seek to win over the masses, are the following:

(i) Overthrow of imperialist domination.

(ii) Confiscation of foreign enterprises and banks.

(iii) Union of the country, with recognition of the right of each nationality to self-determination.

(iv) Overthrow of the power of the militarists and the Kuomintang.

(v) Establishment of the power of Soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' representatives.

(vi) The eight-hour working day, increase of wages, assistance to the unemployed and social insurance.

(vii) Confiscation of all lands of big landlords, land for the peasants and soldiers.

(viii) The abolition of all governmental, militarist and local taxes and levies; a single progressively graduated income tax.

(ix) Union with the U. S. S. R. and the world proletarian movement.—Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies, adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, 1928.

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"THE STOLYPIN PERIOD OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK"

Who misjudges the Chinese situation? "The Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek"! This phrase tells a whole story. If we recall the Stolypin period in Russian history, we will fully understand the implications of this designation for China. "Stolypin period" is the name given to that period in Russian history which followed the defeat of the revolution in 1905. It was the period in which the Czarist minister, Stolypin, put through various reform measures, notably the land law, which, in the words of the Russian Marxist historian, Pokrovsky, "opened a wide gate for the development of industriad capitalism in Russia" (Pokrovsky, Outlines of the History of Revolutionary Movement in Russia, Chinese translation, Moscow Chinese Labor University Edition 1928, p. 116). Stolypin's reforms initiated a period of rapid capitalist development for Russia which postponed the approach of a new revolutionary wave for many years. A similar period of capitalist development for China is undoubtedly what Trotsky has in mind when he speaks of "the Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek." Such an understanding of the Chinese situation naturally deprives him of any immediate revolutionary perspective. This is how Trotsky understood the Chinese question in September, 1928.

It is true that the short interval between Chiang Kai-shek's "triumphant" march to Peking and the outbreak of the Nanking-Kwangsi war in the spring of 1929, for about one year, presented a semblance of "peace and unity" for China and might have misled the superficial observer to conclude that a "Stolypin period" had dawned in China. However, the intensification of basic contradictions in China, as shown in the deplorable economic and political plight of the country and the utter failure of the Fifth Plenum of the Kuomintang and the Financial Conference which followed it to solve any of the burning economic and financial problems of the day, should have warned a true Marxist observer against entertaining any illusions about a stable and peaceful future for the reactionary regime in China!

Trotsky refused to heed this warning. He doggedly read the events in the light of his erroneous theories about Chinese economy. His basic misconception of the class content of the semi-feudal bourgeois regime of the Kuomintang militarists, which directly flows out of his underestimation of the feudal element in Chinese economy, naturally prevents him from having a correct understanding of the nature of class contradictions in China. Hence, his theory of a "triumphant bourgeois counter-revolution." Based upon this theory, he did not only build up an illusion of a "Stolypin period" for China but even blamed the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern for not sharing this illusion with him!

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Almost a year and a half have passed since the Trotskyist theory of "the Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek" was advanced. Within this interval of time, much has happened in China. There were already two militarist wars to blacken the history of this period and a third one is just coming. The Chinese militarist generals and their imperialist masters have no consideration for Trotsky's theories. Amidst the clanking of their arms and the trail of misery and devastation which these militarist wars inevitably left, all of Trotsky's theories about "the triumphant bourgeois counter-revolution," "the Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek," and his dream of a parliament in China, were dashed to pieces on the solid rocks of reality!

"THE SLOGAN OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY"

But Trotsky stubbornly refuses to learn his lesson from these facts which completely overthrew his ridiculous theory of a "Stolypin period" for China. Instead of either admitting his mistakes or else refraining from going further, he displayed even more energy in piling up his mistakes on the Chinese question. Toward the end of 1929 he began to take a direct part in organizing a Chinese Opposition group and raised the slogan of the "Constituent Assembly" for China. What does Trotsky mean by issuing the slogan of the "Constituent Assembly" for China? In a letter to the Chinese Oppositionists, dated December 22, 1929, Trotsky said: "The political task of the Chinese Communist Party, weakened and driven into illegality, is to mobilize not only the workers but also the broad social layers of the city and the country against the bourgeois-military dictatorship. It is to this end that the simplest and most natural slogan under present conditions, the Constituent Assembly, must serve" (Militant, January 25, 1930). In the same letter he said: "The difference must be clearly understood between the general *revolutionary perspective* which we must tirelessly develop in articles and in theoretical and propaganda speeches, and *the present political slogan* under which we can, beginning today, mobilize the masses by actually opposing them to the regime of the military dictatorship. Such a *central political slogan* is the slogan of the *Constituent Assembly*." (Emphasis original.—R. D.) In other words, according to Trotsky, the Chinese masses are not yet ready for more direct and revolutionary slogans than that of the Constituent Assembly. Sitting at Prinkipo, basing his calculations upon his erroneous theory of a "Stolypin period" for China, he pictures to himself a "weakened" Chinese Communist Party trying to lead an extremely backward mass that has plenty of confidence and illusions in the stability of the present Kuomintang regime in

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China. He substitutes his own greatly exaggerated version of the "victorious counter-revolution" and his consequent faith in the stability of the Kuomintang regime for the highly revolutionary temper of the Chinese masses; therefore, he abandons all direct revolutionary slogans such as "Down with the Kuomintang Government" and "Establish the power of the Soviets" and timidly puts forward such a neutral slogan as that of the "Constituent Assembly." Thus Trotsky's profound pessimism leads him to postpone the "general revolutionary perspective" to the far, far distant future so that it becomes barely perceptible to himself and entirely beyond the horizon of the Chinese masses and proposes to "mobilize the masses" by a *present political slogan* "under which we can actually oppose them (the masses) to the regime of the military dictatorship." Is the slogan of the "Constituent Assembly" *strong and revolutionary enough to mobilize the Chinese masses of the present period, a period of general crisis,* in which the developing mass movements, both in city and country, particularly the rapidly-spreading peasant guerilla warfare, have already begun a desperate struggle against the existing regime? Do the Chinese masses need to be "actually opposed" to the military dictatorship? Have they not yet, by their desperate struggles in town and country and by numerous other clear and most unambiguous manifestations of profound discontent and hostility to the existing regime, *already opposed* themselves to the semi-feudal bourgeois dictatorship? Trotsky evidently believes that they have not. Therefore, he said in the same letter: "The agitation (for the slogan of the Constituent Assembly—R. D.) must be supplemented by a propaganda that will make *at least the most advanced sections of the proletariat* understand that the road leading to the Constituent Assembly can only pass through the insurrection against the military usurpation and the seizure of power by the popular masses." (Emphasis mine.—R. D.)

Thus Trotsky only seeks to make the "*most advanced sections of the proletariat*" understand the necessity of insurrection! The slogan of insurrection as a slogan for the masses is indefinitely postponed by Trotsky! Trotsky has not only joined Chen Du-Shiu but he has already landed himslef in the camp of Wang Chin-wei, Chen Kung Po & Co. The slogan of Constituent Assembly is exactly the central political slogan of the "Left" Kuomintang Reorganizationists, who in the summer of 1927 "liquidated" the last revolution by their betrayal. Now Trotsky has come forward to liquidate the Chinese Communist Party and its revolutionary political line by proposing a slogan that coincides exactly with that of the Kuomintang Reorganizationists, and *thus subordinating the political action of the proletariat and peasantry to that of the representatives of the bourgeois opposition.* (Wang Chin Wei,

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Chen Kung Po & Co. now play the role of a national bourgeois opposition to the semi-feudal compradore bourgeois government of Chiang Kai-shek.) It is clear that Trotsky, *by issuing the slogan of the Constituent Assembly, proposes a retreat for the Chinese Communist Party from a revolutionary position to that of a "legal" opposition to the Chiang Kai-shek regime!* No wonder the Political Bureau of the C. C. of the Communist Party of China, in a statement issued on October 15, 1929, called Trotskyism a "one hundred per cent liquidationist position."

TROTSKY AND THE PEASANT GUERILLA WARFARE IN CHINA

This liquidationist position of Trotsky is the logical outcome of his theory of the "Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek." So is his slander of the Comintern line in China as "adventurism"; and his monstrously ridiculous attitude toward the peasant guerilla warfare in China. His confusion in regard to the question of guerilla peasant warfare in China is so hopeless and his hostility toward these struggling Chinese peasants is so strong that he devoted a whole special article to the subject, to which he affixed the title "What Is Happening in China?" * (printed in the Militant, November 30, 1929). Nothing reveals more glaringly than this article Trotsky's profound ignorance of the revolutionary character of the Chinese peasantry and his criminally malicious attitude toward the Comintern leadership.

According to Trotsky's line of reasoning, a "Stolypin period" in China, of course, means a more or less temporary relief for the peasantry, hence guerilla warfare conducted voluntarily and spontaneously by the peasantry against the government is impossible!

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* This article shows perhaps more than anything else that Trotsky's ammunition against the Comintern is near exhaustion. The counter-revolutionary character of all of his ideological and organizational attacks against the Comintern being totally exposed, Trotsky now resorts to slanders and lies. The effect of all such Trotskyist propaganda upon his followers, particularly his lies and slanders, is clearly seen in an utterly shameless and vicious letter written by a certain Charles Byrne of Youngstown, Ohio, to the Militant. (Militant, January 4, 1930, page 8.) In this letter, this Youngstown renegae calls Comrade Earl Brower "Mr. Chiang Kai-shek Browder," "Stalin's Yankee Priest in China," and vomited such venomous lies to the effect that "even though Chiang Kai-shek was murdering the workers of China, Browder aided him until such time as Chiang thumbed his nose at Stalin." This is the result of Trotskyist propaganda among the rank and file. To spread slander and lies about the leaders of the international revolutionary working class, to plant hatred and hostility among the masses toward the Comintern and the Communist Parties, to assist capitalist attacks against the Chinese Revolution and the Soviet Union; these are the missions of Trotskyism and such sheets as the "Militant."

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But it is a fact that peasant guerilla warfare is spreading throughout the countryside in China. Since this fact is out of the line of Trotsky's reasoning, some excuse must be found for its presence.

Trotsky sarcastically asks: "Does this insurrection (guerilla warfare) spring from the situation in China or rather from the directions concerning the Third Period?" Thus Trotsky, following the example of the imperialist diplomats who always trace every revolutionary outbreak to "the order from Moscow," insinuates that the guerilla warfare must have been staged by orders from the Comintern. But Trotsky is not satisfied with this insinuation. He goes much further and makes the wildest and most insane accusations against the Comintern. He says: "But there is still another explanation possible, which is perhaps at the same time the most disquieting. Have the Chinese Communists risen in rebellion because of Chiang Kai-shek's seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway? Has this insurrection, wholly guerilla in character, as its only aim to cause Chiang Kai-shek the greatest possible uneasiness at his rear? If that is what it is, we ask who has given such counsel to the Chinese Communists?"

Mr. Trotsky, you should have remembered that peasant guerilla warfare was first fought in 1927, following the defeat of the revolution, and has been going on ever since then, two years before the Chinese Eastern Railway case was dreamed of! By trying to make political capital out of a flat and obvious lie, you make yourself an object of contempt to the international working class!

Is the phenomenon of peasant guerilla warfare so difficult to understand that slander and lies had to be resorted to for its explanation? No, not by one who is not afraid of the truth. *The revolutionary character of the Chinese peasants, of which the guerilla warfare is its racial expression, arises out of the unbearable misery and desperation of their conditions of existence.* This constituted a strong impetus to the great revolution of 1925-27. Especially during the latter part of the revolution, tens of millions of the peasants of South China rose against their oppressors, the gentry and landlords, and turned the backward Chinese countryside into a hotbed of one of the greatest revolutionary upheavals in history. In many places the peasants actually took land over for themselves and completely expropriated the oppressors. When the history of the Chinese agrarian revolution of 1926 and 1927 is written, it will unquestionably constitute one of the most amazing chapters of the history of the international revolution. And then the counter-revolution came. Ruthlessly and with unprecedented terror, the ruling classes sought to wrest victory from the hands of the dauntless peasants. The peasant movement was crushed for some time but the strongest elements never yielded. With what-

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ever arms they had taken during the struggle, they formed detachments and escaped into the temporary shelter of the mountains, ever ready to come out and lead the struggling masses who still remained in the villages and necessarily had constant conflicts with their landlords. Those who stayed in the villages are naturally those who are less ready to lead a guerilla soldier's life, but they had also tasted power in the days of the revolution and are always ready to follow the lead of their more militant brothers in an attack or raid on landlords or government troops. These struggles usually develop from the over-strained relations between the peasants and their oppressors which are so serious that any conflicts between them often result in violence and bloodshed. The Chinese press of the last two years was full of lurid tales of the exploits of such "Communist Robbers," and one story after another of the failure of the government troops to "clear the villages." The most significant feature of these stories of "Communist Robbers" is that they have always been able to *rally enough mass support* either to enable them to evade the government troops sent to suppress them or to defeat these troops. There are also reports to the effect that, in many instances, a part of government troops *went over* to the "Communist Robbers" and the rest were thus demoralized and routed. In several southern provinces, especially in Kwanktung, peasant Soviet districts have existed ever since the Canton uprising. Although such Soviet districts were raided and "cleaned" several times, the revolutionary peasants succeeded in recapturing power and the rule of the peasants in those areas is not only preserved up to the present day, but, as recent news reports indicate, it is greatly extended and strengthened and constitutes a great stimulus to the peasants in other parts of China.

Chiang Kai-shek and Company are not unaware of the seriousness of the agrarian situation. But *the logic of Nanking's reactionary power can afford no solution to the agrarian question, cannot even mitigate its diffifulties.* A twenty-five per cent reduction of rent was introduced in Chihkiang Province following the bourgeois betrayal of the revolution as a measure to assist Chiang Kai-shek's lackeys in putting down the peasant movement, but as soon as the peasants appeared to have quieted down, the measure was abolished. The Nanking Government appointed a Commission to work out measures for agrarian reform, but it was so impossble for the Commission to work out any reform measures that its report was postponed for four years by the Kuomintang Executive Session of last June. The semi-feudal bourgeois regime found itself absolutely helpless in the face of this most important question. In the meantime the agrarian crisis not only in the North, where famine ravages the country, but also in South China, where there is a

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serious crisis without a famine, is becoming more and more menacing! Millions of desperate peasants, especially the poor peasants, must either sit and starve or organize and fight, trying to snatch a chance to live by expropriating the provisions (in North) or land (in South) of the rich. Is it surprising, then, that peasant guerilla warfare has developed so rapidly and violently, especially in the last few months?

Thus we see the "guerilla movement" is not a series of artificial uprisings, manufactured by directions from Moscow, but it is essentially a spontaneous movement of the peasant masses, "springing from the actual conditions" in the country. *The task of the Party in regard to this question is not to shut its eyes to the situation, as Trotsky would have them do, but to lead the movement to the proper channels.* The Party is fully aware of the possible dangers of such peasant detachments if their activities do not receive proper guidance from the proletariat. The Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which met in the summer of 1928, formulated its tasks concerning the peasant guerilla warfare in the following words:

> "In places where the class contradictions and struggles in the villages have become very serious, every small daily struggle necessarily results in armed conflict. Hence, the guerilla warfare has already become the main form of struggle. *The Communist Party must actively and resolutely lead these struggles, and make them assume a more organized character and maintain a closer contact with the masses.* (Emphasis mine, R. D.)
>
> "The main tasks of guerilla warfare are: (1) To realize slogans of the peasants' struggles (confiscation of the land of the landlords and give it to the peasants; exterminate "tu-haos," gentry, landlords, etc.; establish peasants' delegate conferences and village Soviet power), and to motivate a larger peasant mass to the front line of revolutionary struggles; (2) to establish a Red Army by gradually drawing in brave youth, especially the proletarians and semi-proletarians, to take part in the guerilla detachments and gradually extend them into a workers' and peasants' Revolutionary Red Army; and (3) to weaken the forces of reaction (such as the disarming of the People's Corps," police, etc.)."

These, Mr. Trotsky, are the origin and perspectives of the peasant guerilla warfare in China. This is "what is happening in China." It is not that we have not "breathed a word" about this but that you have been sleeping and mistaken your nightmares for what is actually happening in China!

BASIC THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS OF TROTSKYISM

Taken all in all, the theoretical root of Trotsky's mistakes is his erroneous theory of "permanent revolution." Underestimating the role that the peasantry can play in the revolution and also lack-

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ing in faith in the strength of the proletariat to lead the peasantry, Trotsky introduced *a theory that, if sufficiently accepted by the masses, would side-track the revolution and throw it into the ditch.* He does not understand the true function of the intermediary stage, the bourgeois-democratic dictatorship in the colonies and semi-colonies, which bridges over from a backward reactionary political power into the dictatorship of the proletariat. He cannot conceive of the possibility of a "growing over" from the Democratic Dictatorship of the workers and peasants to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, he advanced the theory that either the bourgeois democratic-revolution is completed by a victorious bourgeois revolution, or, if defeated, then the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution *must wait* for the proletarian revolution for their solution. In regard to China, Trotsky said:

> "The real solution of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution in China is only possible through the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . Such a revolution, however, cannot remain standing at the bourgeois stage. It is transformed into a permanent revolution, that is, it becomes a link of the international socialist revolution and shares its fate." (Militant, December 28, 1929.)

Thus, Trotsky, with a sweep of the pen, omits for China the "preparatory stages" which the Program of the Communist International correctly considers it necessary to go through before China can transfer to the dictatorship of the proletariat and, by doing so, postpones the perspectives for a revolution in China to the indefinite future. Since China is not yet ripe for the dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore, according to Trotsky, to speak of a revolutionary perspective at the present time must be "adventurism." Hence Trotsky invented a "Stolypin period" for China during which China could "prepare" herself for the nuptial night of a Trotskyist social revolution! What a perfect theory—from beginning to end —running like a thread! Unfortunately for Trotsky, but fortunately for China, the "Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek" proved not to be a fact but a farce. The "Stolypin switch" which Trotsky invented to side-track the Chinese revolution is smashed by Leninist theory and revolutionary events in China!

Aside from this bankruptcy of Trotskyism on account of the erroneous theory upon which it is based, there is another aspect of the question—although even this aspect is closely woven with his basic theoretical mistakes. I mean his wrong analysis of the Economy of China. *His underestimation of the role of the peasantry in the revolution leads him to grossly underestimate the most important section of the economic structure of China, which, if correctly estimated, would necessarily enlarge the role which the peas-*

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ants must play in the Chinese revolution. Trotsky, in his criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern, said: "Of course matters would be quite hopeless (for Trotskyism—R. D.) if feudal survivals would really *dominate* in Chinese economics, as the resolution of the E. C. C. I. asserts. But, unfortunately, *survivals* in general cannot dominate. . . . However, not 'feudal' (more correctly, serf, and, generally, pre-capitalist) relations *dominate* but capitalist relations." (Criticism of Fundamentals, published by the Militant, pp. 119-120.) It is futile to quibble over the word "survival." A word cannot make the feudal element in Chinese economy weak. What is the feudal element in Chinese economy that ominates, the proper understanding of which is so important? It is *the feudal form of exploitation in Chinese economy.* It is true that capitalist relations have penetrated to the Chinese countryside, and the capitalist form dominates in the property relations of land ownership. But *the feudal form of exploitation of the peasantry by the landlord class plays a really dominating role in the economic life of China.* In proportion to the ruthless penetration of imperialist commodity economy into the village, which makes the village economy more decadent and the position of the feudal landlords more shaky, the feudal exploitation of the peasantry by the landlords also become more severe. The revolution of 1925-1927 dealt a blow to this exploitation, but it did not destroy it. As the revolution subsided, the old forms of exploitation are all revived. The domination of this form of exploitation puts the *agrarian revolution,* as the central feature of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China, first and foremost on the agenda, as the necessary precondition for the development of the socialist revolution.

Trotsky doesn't like this, so he pushes to the backgrounl the feudal element in Chinese economy, magnifies capitalist development in the country, raises from obscurity the weak and toppling Chinese national bourgeoisie, and puts before them the tasks of a "Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek"! But here again Trotsky is mistaken and falls a victim to his wrong theories. The Chinese national bourgeoisie did not and cannot live up to Trotsky's expectations.

Trotsky has never realized that the *national bourgeoisie of China, due to its extreme weakness, is not only incapable of playing any independent role but that it is so weak that it is even incapable of forcing without the help of the proletariat and peasantry, any concession from the imperialists or the feudal elements in the country.* This is clearly shown by the fact that, while during the revolution of 1925-1927 the national bourgeoisie with the support of the workers and peasants, was able to route the feudal forces and to extract many concessions from the imperialists, ever since its betrayal in 1927, it had to fall into the arms of the feudal

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war lords and completely capitulate to the increasing encroachments of the imperialists. *Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking regime has never been a pure bourgeois power, and it never will be. And for this very fact — the fact that the Nanking Government, ever since its inception has never been a pure bourgeois regime, and that the Chinese national bourgeoisie can never be strong enough to establish such a regime—Chiank Kai-shek's "triumphant" march to Peking did not and can never bring peace and unity for the country.* But peace and unity are the prerequisites for a "Stolypin period"! Thus, owing to his gross overestimation of the Chinese bourgeoisie and mistaking the Nanking regime for a regime of "bourgeois counter-revolution," *Trotsky never understood the meaning and significance of the militarist wars in China! Is it an accident then that his various articles and letters dealing with the Chinese situation, Trotsky never mentioned the militarist wars in China?* He ignores entirely this most important phenomenon of the Chinese situation. Probably he ignores it because he does not understand it. Trotsky's wrong line now leads him to further his crimes against the revolution by building up an Opposition group in China and thus attempting to disrupt the activities of the Chinese Communist Party and introduce confusion into the ranks of the Chinese revolutionary workers and peasants.

THE LIQUIDATION OF TROTSKYISM

But Trotsky is destined to fail in China just as he has failed in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries. No successful Party can be built upon the sandy basis of a wrong theoretical orientation. Even a simple Chinese farm laborer will never trust a party whose basic theoretical orientation contradicts the realities in the country. The slogan of the Constituent Assembly can be nothing but a joke to the revolutionary workers and peasants of China. The liquidationism which this slogan implies can serve a useful purpose for the revolution, however, by exposing the true nature of Trotskyism to the international working class in general and the Chinese working class in particular. It will not liquidate the Chinese revolution, but it will liquidate Trotskyism in China, as it has already liquidated Trotskyism in the Soviet Union and other countries!

THE FATE OF OPPORTUNISM

The ultra-Right wing opportunist character of the theoretical as well as practical conclusions of Trotsky in regard to the Chinese question might be a shock to those who erroneously understood Trotskyism as merely "leftism." But Trotsky was never a consistent "leftist." He has always basically been a Menshevik and

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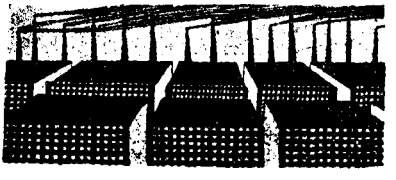
an opportunist who covers up his opportunism with left and revolutionary phrases. On this question he has openly discarded his "leftist" cloak and comes out with an openly opportunist and counter-revolutionary line in China. Therefore, it is not a bit surprising that Trotsky should welcome into his own ranks the notorious symbol of opportunism in China, Professor Chen Du-Shiu. This seems to be a period of rendezvous for all shades of opportunism. In Mexico the right wing renegade, Diego Rivera, who fought against the Party because "he couldn't live without his salary from the Government," quickly transformed himself overnight into a "left" Trotskyite and was accepted with open arms by Trotsky's American agent, Cannon, without any "embarassing" questions regarding his relations with the fascist Rubio. Jim Cannon is enjoying a "spiritual union" with Jay Lovestone in America. Across the ocean, the Trotskyists of Germany are repeating the slander and malicious lies of the Brandlerites that Comrade Neumann is an agent of the German police. Both the Brandlerites and Trotskyites are carrying on a vicious campaign against the policy of the Comintern on the August First anti-war demonstrations and the March 6th unemployment demonstrations. But this is not encouraging news for opportunism. The frequent rapproachment between the "left" and right opportunists shows that *both brands of opportunism have exhausted their own possibilities for development.* They are bottled up by their own contradictions and weaknesses. In a frantic search for an outlet, they bumped into each other and found themselves in the same bottle of poisonous opportunism that has no outlet. Their predicament is thus fully exposed to the world. The revolutionary proletariat and struggling oppressed masses in the colonies can only laugh at the embarrassment and doomed fate of these renegades.



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Plenum of Women Workers' Committee of the RILU

(*December* 16, 1929)

COMRADE LOSOVSKY'S REPORT

COMRADES, our International Women Workers' T. U. Committee was only established eighteen months ago. As you see, it is a very little child, and may be for this very reason does not stand quite firm on its legs. It is possible that the fault is malnutrition and bad attendance on the part of its parent, the R.I.L.U. At any rate we must view the situation as it is: the Women Workers' T. U. Committee, which without doubt is faced with very great tasks, as yet conducts its work but very weakly. If we view the objective situation at the present period, if we view the struggles which are now taking place, we will be able to register very great participation in these struggles by the women workers. And a Marxist analysis of events, a correct grasp of the meaning of these events, forces us to think that the part taken by women in the economic and political struggles will grow steadily. All objective data point to this. And the question now faces the R.I.L.U. of how to draw into the movement, with maximum results, new strata of women workers. The Women Workers' T. U. Committee is not a party organization. It is an organization which has as its task to draw into the movement the women workers, who are now being awakened to conscious life—to lead them from small economic strikes to bigger economic strikes, from economic strikes to great political struggles, from political struggles to uprisings, from uprisngs to the Revolution. This is the path which all movements transverse, and this is also the path for the women workers in the capitalist and colonial countries. The question for the immediate future, for you, for the Women Workers' T. U. Committee, for the R.I.L.U., the entire question is: how to get new forces into the leadership,—in the center and in the various localities.

Work amongst the women is very often viewed as a "sideline," as an extra occupation. It has become a sign of good tone to mention the women in all resolutions. The women and young workers are mentioned—and then we calm down; the usual bow towards this or that duty, which does not oblige those who have signed the resolution to do anythng. We must turn away from this

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bad tradition: it is insufficient to mention the women workers in the resolution; it is insufficient to say that they are being drawn into industry, to say that they are participating in the struggle. This is only registering facts. It is not enough. We must concretely, in a practical manner, approach the question of how to organize work in the center, how to organize it in the districts.

If we view the activities of our organizations in all countries—Germany, Britain, the United States, France, Czecho-Slovakia if we take the colonial countries, we see how great is the disproportion between the participation of the women workers in the struggles and the attention which our organizations pay them. In my opinion, in this respect we must draw up all our organizations with the greatest vigor, we must take up this question most energetically. I must stress that the question of the women workers is not only the work of the women alone. A tradition in this respect has also been formed—only women must attend to work amongst the women. That is the women's affair. No, this is not the "women's affair." It is not the specialty of women alone: the labor movement of the whole world is interested in the work amongst the women going forward apace. At the same time very little has been done in this respect; very little has been done because our organizations still adhere to the old traditions of the reformist trade unions, which drag us backward. It is but recently that in most countries women workers were not yet accepted into membership in the unions. But recently we had to break down this tradition. And we must say that such traditions still continue amongst many, many people who consider themselves to be Communists.

For this reason the question of drawing the women workers into activity must become one of the most urgent in the near future, a most important part of our work. In my opinion the active workers in the revolutionary trade union movement could do very much in this respect, and if we ourselves take up this work and give the help required, we without doubt will achieve great results.

In six or seven months' time the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. is to be held. The Women Workers' T. U. Committee and all the R.I.L.U. Sections will have to check up what has been done in this sphere. You, comrades, will have to be exacting in your tasks and insistent in carrying them out, and the more exacting you are, the more insistency you display, the more you fight for organizing activities amongst the women workers, the more you will achieve. Passiveness, lack of energy, will never lead to anything. The preparations for the Fifth Congress may serve as the turning point for further improving our activities amongst the women workers in all countries. Work will have to be conducted through special articles on this question, and discussions at

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meetings, and by bringing up the questions from the viewpoint as to what has been done in this or that country. It is necessary to take steps that a good representation at the Fifth Congress be ensured. Usually, when making up the delegations from a certain country and knowing that thirty comrades have to be sent, twenty-nine men are sent and one place left for the women workers, though usually the place occupied by the women workers is far greater than they are allowed. This representation of the women workers is undoubtedly affected by the conservatism, the non-understanding of what is taking place in the labor movement, the absolute lack of perspective, because in the period to come the women workers, as the most exploited, will participate most actively in the struggle. If we do not succeed in taking advantage of the objective situation, of utilizing the favorable conditions, we will be unable to draw into the movement those fresh millions who even now at the present time are playing a considerable part and will play a still greater part in the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation. We must do away with the traditions in the question of activities amongst the women, of drawing them into the struggle. It is wrong to consider that the women workers, women in general, are something of the sort of a free supplement to the men's delegation. The question of delegates to the Congress must be considered from the point of view of the work which is required by the developing movement.

I think the Women Workers' T. U. Committee will seriously have to study the question of how many women workers, from which countries, etc., should be represented at the Fifth Congress. We state beforehand that all possible assistance will be extended by us. We will help each and all of our organizations to depart from the old traditions, which are quite often to be found side by side with our revolutionary activity. We must determinedly strike at conservatism, at any and all survivals of the old reformist traditions, which weigh down the international labor movement.

If we put to ourselves the question of what are the immediate perspectives for the development of the International Women Workers' T. U. Committee, what line the Committee is to follow, what problems it is to put in the forefront and how it is to draw the women workers into the movement, I think we can reply to this that the perspectives for its development are very great. Everything depends on the energy of our organizations. Our work must extend beyond the confines of Europe. Although we are great revolutionaries, nevertheless we often think that Europe is the center of the universe: if this was so before the war, we are now confronted by such huge capitalist countries, not in Europe, as, for instance, the United States, or such countries as India, Japan,

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China, etc., which are now playing a far greater role than European countries, both in the imperialist struggle and in the struggle against imperialism. The problem of organizing the women workers goes far beyond the confines of Europe and comes up against those tens of millions of women workers in the colonial countries who are exploited with exceptional brutality.

The East embraces such vast masses of women workers that those present here are barely able to imagine the statistics. In China, in Japan, and in India, the number of women workers is greater than the number of men. For this reason, therefore, our Women Workers' Committee must spread beyond Europe. In the first place, it must spread beyond the Palace of Labor in Moscow, and then beyond the confines of the U. S. S. R., and after this it must spread beyond Europe, beyond America, and in general, come out into the world! This means that you must embrace the broadest possible means outside the confines of the capitalist countries, keeping in view that the women workers in the colonial countries will undoubtedly be with you. They will follow you sooner than those considerable strata of women workers corrupted by bourgeois culture, who have yet to be won away from the influence which the church, bourgeois culture, bourgeois habits, the bourgeois press, etc., etc., still exert over them.

Finally, comrades, the last question—what methods can we apply to draw the women workers into the struggle? The most simple and tried method, and likewise the best, is that of bringing up before the women workers questions connected with their everyday needs and the everyday struggle. This does not mean to say that our task is to speak only of the *immediate everyday interests which at the given time are agitating the women workers.* This means to say that we must succeed in *linking up the everyday interests with our final aim;* this means that we must focus the attention of the women workers on what agitates them most, what is of greatest interest to them at the given time, but also that the women workers must take an active part in the general class struggle of the proletariat not only as women workers when at the factories, not only in movements, in strikes, but that they must also become active fighters in the labor movement in general. On the other hand, we must carry on work in such a manner that the *workers' wives,* who are also interested in the strike, for they usually have to bear all the burdens during stoppages, also take an active part in the strikes, in the strike struggle, in the general class struggle.

Experience in some countries has shown that the women workers, the workers' wives and children, play a very great part in revolutionizing the working masses through their actions during the

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strikes, and that the movements of the vast masses of the women workers in the struggle for their elementary demands serve usually, as a great impetus for consolidating the working class, for raising the spirits of the men. When considerable numbers of women workers are in the movement the class struggle becomes increasingly sharper. There is even some element of competition between the men and the women in the struggle. We are not going to object in the least to such rivalry. We are for such rivalry, we are for the women being in the vanguard in the strike struggle, although we will insist that the men don't lag behind. At any rate, I repeat, we will not object to this competition. We must mobilize the masses of the women, raise them to a higher level, bring into the movement the huge masses of the women workers, force them to play a definite part in the movement.

And this is only possible if we do not conduct abstract propaganda, do not take up questions general and abstract, not understood by the women workers, do not generalize, if I may put it so, but work more simply, for the workers, so that the women understand what we are referring to. We must lead the women not from the general to the particular, but from the particular to the common aim, so that in the struggle they go from their everyday requirements to the general problems confronting the working class as a whole. This, of course, cannot be done at once—it is a very complicated science, if I be permitted to express myself in military terms, this science of "leading the masses." We members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have learned much in this respect from that great leader of the masses, *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin*. Our foreign comrades must learn this also. You must always be able to feel the pulse of the masses. Whoever does not feel this is not a leader but just an official. Whoever does not see what is going on in the masses is just a functionary, sitting in his chair, but who does not feel the changes in the mood, the development of new moods in the masses. Whoever does not sense what is the life, what agitates the mind of the simple women workers from the factories, whoever does not understand this, had better leave the leadership of the labor movement, because this person will just be an official, and never a genuine leader of the mass labor movement.

This, comrades, is how I visualize the methods which should be applied in approaching the tasks confronting you. It would, of course, be ridiculous to think that the Women Workers' T. U. Committee could carry out such great tasks independently. The tasks of which I speak could hardly be carried out by us ourselves. All together we must carry them out. You are one of the cogs in the great wheel which already now is a great force in the world

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labor movement. You are one of the levers by means of which we draw new divisions of the working class into the struggle, and the tasks confronting you are the concrete tasks laid down by the struggle. They must be carried out; they will be carried out, of course, with the energetic and determined support from the R. I. L. U. and all its organizations.

Resolutions are drawn for a period of several years. The tasks which you have put yourselves are tasks of several years. It would be childishness to think that you could carry them out in a few months. In six or seven months' time you will once more meet, and, I hope, the resolutions that you have adopted will not remain on paper. Better ten per cent carried out, than one hundred per cent not carried out. There is a proverb, as you know, which says "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." I base myself approximately on this when defining how much you should carry out in the next few months.

I think that we should consider one more question—that of organizing a conference parallelly with the Fifth Congress of the R. I. L. U. The Women Workers' Committee can and must prepare for this. There will be from eighty to ninety delegates from women workers at the R. I. L. U. Congress. Work must be carried out so that a serious conference be held. The work of the Women Workers' Committee in the period of preparations for the Fifth Congress should be to seriously prepare for this Conference. There will be several conferences held simultaneously with the R. I. L. U. Congress. There will be a conference of workers in Arab countries, a Latin American Conference, a conference of Negro workers, a Young Workers' Conference, and there should be a Women Workers' Conference. One of the tasks of the Young Workers' T. U. Committee is to lay down the practical methods and lines for preparing for such a conference in six and one-half month's time. The comrades here have objected to my moderate demands. They assert that ten per cent carried out is insufficient. That is all right! If you carry out the full one hundred per cent, all the better. The R. I. L. U., however, expects you to *commence to apply the resolutions adopted*, and I think that this is the most important point! (Applause.)

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The Political Background of the London Conference

By LEON PLATT

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM

THE economic crisis of world capitalism in its dimension and consequences is not only undermining the stability of capitalism but the very roots of the capitalist system as a whole. The rapid development of the forces of production, the increased output of capitalist industry, which helped capitalism to recover from the consequences of the last world war, is today the very factor which is leading capitalism to its destruction. The sharp decline in the wholesale prices of commodities only further demonstrates the sharpening of the contradictions within capitalist economy, the increased productive capacity of industry, and the declining buying capacity of the masses. The present economic crisis of world capitalism became the dynamic force, which is still further sharpening the difference and antagonisms between the various Imperialist powers. The struggle for markets, the fierceness of capitalist competition, never reached such a high stage as it did today. Never were the United States, England and the other great powers faced in such sharp form with this unsolvable problem of broadening the scope and extent of their capitalist exploitation. In spite of the rapid expansion and penetration into foreign countries, in spite of the fact that export of manufactured products from United States to other countries is today seven times as large as it was in the beginning of this century, yet even this proved to be insufficient to maintain American industry at its past rate of production and avoid the crisis. Seeing the narrowing of its home market, American capitalism therefore raises openly the question of making the world its home market. The Magazine of Wall Street of February 8th openly stated:

> "Broadly speaking, we are at a relative standstill in industry. The only thing is to own markets in the foreign world."

On the other hand, British Imperialism, thru its special minister, Mr. Thomas, declared that the Labor Government will increase the number of its commercial representatives in foreign countries to help to revive British industry and its export market particularly from

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"England's commercial rivals." The struggle for markets which is the dynamic force in the imperialist antagonisms, is today therefore becoming sharper and leads to an inevitable war. It certainly presents a very tragic state of affairs for American capitalism, when the Department of Agriculture of the U. S. Government, had to request American farmers to curtail their products for the coming year by 15 per cent. The new phases of Imperialist rivalry, particularly the resistance of European capitalism in its competitive struggle with the United States, clearly manifests itself in the growing aggressiveness on the part of the European steel trust, which definitely set for itself the task of conquering the market where the American product is predominant. To this we must also add the growing tariff war between the capitalist countries, as was exemplified by the decision of the French automobile producers. At the same time the growth of socialist construction in the Soviet Union—the sharp contradictions between the two social systems, all these combined with economic factors mentioned above create a definite war situation, which cannot be avoided. At first we shall discuss the contradictions and their consequences between the Imperialist powers themselves.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RIVALRY AS THE CHIEF IMPERIALIST ANTAGONISMS

The developing events of the London conferences, as pictured in the American capitalist press, tend to give the impression that the chief antagonisms in the capitalist world are those between Great Britain and France, and between France and Italy. For any worker to maintain such an erroneous view would be wrong. While the antagonisms between French and British, and French and Italian imperialism are great, yet under no circumstances can we presuppose that they replace the chief antagonism that exists in the world today between the United States and Great Britain. Even the antagonism between Italian and French imperialism, and between French and British imperialism in themselves also reflect clearly and definitely the antagonism between the United States and Great Britain.

Yet prior to the signing of the Versailles treaty, England understood that in the place of defeated German capitalism there arose a new and much stronger competitor, threatening the very supremacy of the British Empire. As the apologist of American Imperialism, Nicholas Roosevelt, one of the editors of the New York Times, expressed in his recent book America and England "Englishmen know better than do Americans that a new force has appeared in World affairs sufficiently strong to transform old political relationships by the mere weight of its existence, rapidly expanding

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its trade and its financial interests throughout the world, this new power is as yet only in its youth."

Imperialist rivalry between the two strongest imperialist powers had its expression immediately after the war in the settlement of the war debts. Britain, trying to maintain its credit, was the first country to make an agreement with Washington. The United States in order to use the war debt of the allies as means of weakening their position and strengthening the position of American capitalism adopted the principle "of capacity to pay" and therefore put the most severe terms upon its strongest competitor: England 82 per cent; France 50 per cent; Italy 20 per cent of their debt to the United States. The British bourgeoisie made open declarations in the British parliament, that the British Empire in order to mobilize its former allies against the United States is willing to cancel the debt of its allies if only the United States would do the same. In the reparation question, as well, Great Britain, in order to win Germany under its influence, repeatedly made statements of being willing to re-consider the reparation question to relinquish its share of reparations from Germany if only the United States would do likewise.

British-American differences also clearly demonstrated themselves in the struggle for oil, the struggle for rubber, particularly in connection with the Stevenson restriction act regulating the output of rubber from the British colonies. Anglo-American differences also find their expression in the struggle between the shipping interests of the United States and Great Britain. At present only 33 per cent of American commerce is carried in American ships, 50 per cent of our oversea commerce is carried in British ships. The open resentment as it was made by the American Ward Line, against the encroachment of the British Company in the passenger traffic between New York and Cuba, as well as other countries in the Carribean, clearly demonstrated that. To offset the British superiority in commercial shipping, American capitalism is investing millions of dollars into the ship building industry of Germany. The United States Government is giving direct support to American shipping interests in order to increase and strengthen our commercial fleet.

However, the best demonstration of Anglo-American rivalry is being definitely expressed in the struggle for the control of markets in foreign countries. South and Central America represent an open battleground between British and American imperialism. Although the share of American exports to South and Central America increased from 14 per cent in 1911 to 30 per cent in 1927, while the British share in the export to the same countries dropped from 28 per cent in 1911 to 19 per cent in 1927, it would

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be very wrong to think that the United States succeeded in defeating Great Britain completely in Latin America. Certain acts of England against the United States in the ABC countries as well as in some countries of Central America show that the influence of Great Britain is not only economic but is also political. It would be foolish to think that Great Britain will give up its superiority in these countries without any struggle. Today, Great Britain has certain oil concessions in Central America which it still does not exploit. Only recently the capitalist press of the United States reported that certain concessions which British interests got in the Panama Canal zone are not of any immediate commercial value. The attempts of Great Britain to get concessions in California and in other strategic places under its control, definitely demonstrate that Great Britain is laying the base, politically and strategically, for the struggle against the United States. Recognizing this situation, the American controlled press in the Panama Canal zone, the "Panama-American," therefore demanded that the State Department intervene and request the cancellation of these concessions.

In the Far East as well, Anglo-American antagonisms are assuming wider proportions. The shipping by America of munitions and airplanes to the Nanking Government in its struggle with the other militarists supported by Great Britain and Japan, the sending of the Kemmerer Commission to stabilize the finances of the Nanking Governments were acts through which the United States tried to strengthen its influence in China. The independent imperialist role of the United States is specifically directed to undermine British imperialist policy in the Far East. The growing aggressiveness of American imperialism in the Far East is best exemplified by the exports of the United States and Great Britain to that part of the world. While in 1913 Great Britain's share in China's import was 36 per cent, in 1917, it declined to 28 per cent, while the United States' share in China's import grew from 6 per cent in 1913, to 16 per cent in 1927. These figures, however, also show that Great Britain is not easily giving up its position and influence in China, and even today is maintaining the upper hand in China's import.

In the near East Anglo-American imperialist rivalry manifests itself not only in the struggle for the control of the oil resources of Mesopotamia and Persia, the United States is also there concerned with the undermining of the influence and strength of the British Empire. It is not of little significance that at the same time when the British Government sent military forces to overthrow the old government in Egypt, the United States asked Egypt to sign the Kellogg Treaty as a soverign state. During the Palestine event,

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American imperialism through its Jewish bourgeoisie, appealed directly to the State Department to send troops to Palestine under the excuse of protecting the Jewish Zionist agents supported by American Jewish capitalism in Palestine. The real purpose of American imperialism was to challenge the control of Great Britain in Palestine and in Arabeston as a whole.

(*To be concluded next month*)

A CORRECTION

In *The Communist* for January there was a serious typographical error in the C. I. Resolution on the Negro Question, on page 53, where in quoting Lenin it is made to speak of "the right of *segregation* by the oppressed countries" instead of "the right of *separation*." The paragraph as corrected, reads:

> "The center of gravity in educating the workers of the oppresssing countries in the principles of internationalism must inevitably consist in the propaganda and defense by the workers of the right of *separation* by the oppressed countries. We have the right and duty to treat every socialist of an oppressing nation who does not conduct such propaganda, as an imperialist and as a scoundrel." (Lenin, selected articles on the national question.)

Another typographical error occurred in the February issue of *The Communist*, in Comrade Zinoviev's article, on page 123, where "underlying dialectics" was changed into "lying dialectics" by omitting the word "under."

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Economic Crisis and the Third Period

By EARL BROWDER

FOR the whole capitalist world the present period, the third period of the post-war crisis of capitalism, is one of extreme sharpening of all contradictions, bringing capitalism face to face with the maturing of a revolutionary situation. It is upon this background that the cyclical economic crisis has developed. All the factors of the general crisis of capitalism serve to deepen the economic crisis. The economic crisis in turn accentuates the general crisis of the third period, and hastens its maturity. The interrelationship of these two phases of crisis-development must be thoroughly analyzed as the basis for a clear perspective, for revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Economic crisis (general decline in production, financial upheavals, catastrophic collapse of capitalist "values," general decline in prices, etc.) is not the sum total, beginning and end, of the general crisis of capitalism. It is an inevitable and integral phase of the general crisis, *but only one phase*. It must be estimated in its historical setting of the whole process of the break-up of the capitalist system.

The whole epoch, beginning with the world war and Russian Revolution, is the epoch of the decline of capitalism, of its general crisis, an epoch of wars and revolutions leading to the breakdown of world capitalism and the world victory of the proletarian revolution. Within this epoch, there are three distinct periods: First, the period of the break in the capitalist chain, the first struggles for power of the proletariat, resulting in the victory of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union; second, the period of partial, shaky stabilization of capitalism in the rest of the world, the recovery of capitalist production to pre-war levels on the basis of intensified exploitation of the proletariat and increased pressure on the colonial masses; third, the period of expansion of capitalist production beyond the limits of the capitalist markets, with the simultaneous victorious advance of the proletariat of the Soviet Union against the remnants of capitalism and the successful construction of socialism, the proletarian counter-offensive against capitalism in the imperialist countries, as well as the maturing of the national revolutionary movements in the colonies. The third period, definitely recognized and established at the Sixth World Congress of

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the Communist International in July-August, 1928, is the period when capitalist contradictions again come to the breaking point, the period of the resurgence of the revolutionary tide, when the decisive struggles come between dying capitalism and rising proletarian revolution.

This thrd period opened, however, not to the accompaniment of economic crisis, but on the contrary, of a new high point of capitalist production in the world generally, outside the Soviet Union. It is clear, therefore, that the economic crisis is not the distinguishing feature which establishes the third period. Already before the onset of the economic crisis the main characteristics of the third period are established: Sharp collision between expanding productive forces and strictly limited markets, rising revolutionary tide of the working class revolt, maturing national revolutionary struggles in the colonies, sharpening imperialist rivalries—all against the background of the unprecedentedly swift rise of socialist economy in the Soviet Union.

Under such conditions it is clear that the economic crisis, an inevitable phase of the capitalist production cycle, takes on a new significance, acquires a new depth, and releases an accumulation of forces hitherto unknown. This present economic crisis, while bearing all the characteristics of the classical "cycle" of capitalism, becomes the concentration point for *all* the world-complex of contradictions, arising from the violent collision of the tremendous productive forces generated by capitalism with the limitations of capitalist property relations, in a world-order already shattered by the world war.

Under these conditions, the economic crisis becomes a sign of, and a factor in, the deepening and maturing of the general crisis of the third period. Because it occurs in the setting of this third period, the economic crisis itself acquires an unprecedented depth and intensity.

This dialectical relationship between the economic crisis and the general crisis of capitalism must be the basis for a correct estimation of the current economic development and its political implications.

Characteristic for the third period is the accentuated unevenness of development within world capitalism. Between capitalist nations, the contrast between Britain, declining since the war, and the U. S., expanding enormously in the same period; within each country, the contrast between rising and declining industries and geographical areas, and the growing disparity between industry and agriculture; and so on, down to the most limited aspect of capitalist economy, the unevenness of development grows sharper, the fluctuations more violent, the lines of development more acutely antagonistic.

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Fundamentally revolutionary in the third period is the emergence of structural unemployment, the growth of a vast army of unemployed even simultaneous with the growth of production. It is the outward sign of the inner decay of capitalism, that capitalism as a whole has come to the point where it can no longer feed the masses.

All these contradictions are enormously emphasized by the economic crisis. Each capitalist nation, each industry and area within the nations, each capitalist or corporation, has its relations with the surrounding world sharpened and made more difficult; the capitalist world as a whole against the Soviet Union and against the working class and colonies, takes up an increasingly aggressive role. The enormous added masses of unemployed serve to intensify the speed-up, so that out of the "temporary" unemployment of economic crisis grows enormous additions to the "permanent" army of unemployed.

Within the process of economic crisis development itself, there are ups and downs, with the "ups" increasing the general disorder and chaos within capitalist economy almost equally with the "downs." Thus in January and February, within the general deepening of the crisis, there was a decided recovery in steel and automobiles, two of the most important industries which had plunged to the lowest depths in the first months of the crisis. This recovery checked the tempo of the general decline (which, however, continued)—but at the same time it intensified the fundamental contradictions of the crisis. Both steel and automobiles increased production, not for an expanding market, but in anticipation of a market to be found—that is, they produced for stock or for capital construction. The effect of this is not to shorten the period of crisis, but to lengthen the period; not to lessen the depth, but to deepen it.

These examples of the steel and automobile industries are excellent examples of the "possibilities" of an "organized capitalism" overcoming and eliminating crises, competition, markets and prices. Every effort by capitalism in the direction of "planned" economy, no matter how much apparent success attends it, only further emphasizes the fundamental and inevitable planelessness, the anarchy, of capitalist economy. In the very "recovery" of certain sectors of capitalist economy, hailed so joyfully by the minnisingers of capitalist prosperity, we find the evidence of the inevitability of its downfall.

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Negroes As an Oppressed National Minority

By JOS. PROKOPEC

THE answer of the C. I. to this question is the affirmative. Our Party, however, is proceeding very slowly in approaching our Negro work from such an angle. As a matter of fact, our Party membership did not discuss this point yet, and when the discussion does come up in the near future, there will, undoubtedly, be much unclarity, particularly around the slogans that are to be raised in compliance with such estimation of the question. This is only to be expected, because, due to the lack of experience with national movements, our Party does not have yet a practical approach to the Leninist position on the national question in general. (While in America I found this to be true with many of our leading comrades.)

Before examining the question, let us clear up some terminology. First of all, we are accustomed to think of Negroes in America as a racial minority, but not as a special nationality. But just because they are not fully a nation, that does not prevent them being a national minority, distinguished by their race and color, and special oppression. It matters very little as to whether a minority speaks a special language. A minority must have other characteristics, more substantial, in order to fall into the Leninist category of an "oppressed national minority." The language was not the driving force in the Irish movement; the Polish, or for instance, the movement of the Croats in Jugoslavia where they speak an identical language. It is essential that a minority in an imperialist country is (1) of sufficient number, (2) that it occupies a certain geographic territory in which it forms the majority of the population, (3) that it is subjected not only to the ordinary capitalist exploitation, but is also subjected to pre-capitalist oppression (feudal or slave remnants in agriculture), and (4) that it is discriminated and oppressed as a group of people, distinguished by race, color or religion. At the root of the national question is, therefore, the incomplete bourgeois-democratic revolution, checked by finance capital (imperialism). Leninism supports such movements, not only because they have revolutionary potentialities themselves, but because they undermine and weaken the imperialist power. If Negroes form such an oppressed group in the imperialist U. S.

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of America, then we must apply to them the Leninist policy to a revolutionary national minority movement.

Let us now examine briefly what are the facts about Negroes in America. The C. I. resolution gives the following characterization:

> "The bulk of the Negro population (86 per cent) live in the southern states; of this number 74 per cent live in the rural districts and are dependent almost exclusively upon agriculture for a livelihood. Approximately one-half of these rural dwellers live in the so-called "Black Belt," in which area they constitute more than 50 per cent of the entire population. The great mass of the Negro agrarian population are subject to the most ruthless exploitation and persecution of a semi-slave character. In addition to the ordinary forms of capitalist exploitation, American imperialism utilizes every possible form of slave exploitaton (peonage, share-cropping, landlord supervision of crops and marketing, etc.) for the purpose of extracting super-profits. On the basis of these slave remnants, there has grown up a superstructure of social and political inequality that expresses itself in lynching, segregation, Jim Crowism, etc." [1]

If the total Negro population in U. S. is about twelve million, then, according to the above, there are still about only three million Negroes in the "Black Belt," where they constitute the majority of the population, covering a consistent area of over two hundred counties. These are indisputable facts about Negroes. These facts remain true essentially in spite of the seemingly moving conditions; the migration of Negroes up North, and the industrialization of the South. The finance capital of the North sees to it that the economic status of the Negroes does not change; in fact, the tendency is to worsen it.

No one, I suppose, will raise the argument that this "Black Belt" territory is not a separate state, defined by a special act of the congress of the U. S., or an isolated island somewhere on the Pacific. The fact is that the position of the Negroes is not different from that of any other national minority or colonial people. And, just like all the rest of the national and colonial revolutionary movements, are dealing blows to the imperialist powers, so can the movement of the American Negroes deal a blow to American imperialism, weaken it and thereby hasten the proletarian revolution in America. For this reason the C. I. resolution says as follows:

> "To accomplish this task, the Communist Party must come out as the champion of the right of the oppressed Negro race for full

[1] The "C. I. Resolution on Negro Question in U. S.," point 2.

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> emancipation. While continuing and intensifying the struggle under the slogan of full social and political equaliy for the Negroes, which must remain the central slogan of our Party for work among the masses, the Party must come out openly and unreservedly for the right of the Negroes to national self-determination in the southern states, where the Negroes form a majority of the population. The struggle for equal rights and the propaganda for the slogan of self-determination must be linked up with the economic demands of the Negro masses, especially those directed against the slave remnants and all forms of national and racial oppression." [2]

It is also clear from the above who must educate the Negroes and give a lead to their struggles. At the same time, the C. I. does not lose sight of the almost two million Negro proletariat in industry. They have a definite task to perform. The C. I. resolution says:

> "The Negro working class has reached a stage of development which enables it, if properly organized and well led, to fulfill successfully its double historical mission:
>
> (a) To play a considerable role in the class struggle against American imperialism as an important part of the American working class, and
>
> (b) To lead the movement of the oppressed masses of the Negro population." [3]

Furthermore, the Negroes of America, as a whole, have a task to perform in relation to the Negro race in the other parts of the world:

> "A strong Negro revolutionary movement in the U. S. A. will be able to influence and direct the revolutionary movement in all parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism." [4]

Someone may raise the objection that all that the Negroes themselves want is "equality," and, furthermore, that they would be opposed to any idea of "separation," because to them that means segregation. Let us, for a moment, analyze what it means to struggle for equality of a people. Essentially, it means that Negroes in America are struggling against social and political discrimination (to the point of armed resistance against lynching) and against the pre-capitalist, half-slavery oppression in the agricultural districts. This is what Negroes in America are struggling against,

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[2] From "C. I. Resolution on Negro Question in U. S.," point 5.
[3] From "C. I. Resolution on Negro Question in U. S.," point 1.
[4] From "C. I. Resolution on Negro Question in U. S.," point 7.

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and these are, essentially, the forms of struggle of any national minority or colonial peoples. The only difference with Negroes in America is that their struggle, so far, was without a real content and a practical aim. Without a demand for the right of self-determination, struggle of a minority for "equality" is practically meaningless. "Equality" becomes an empty phrase. Equality in what? If we mean equality as people, then we must also mean that they have sovereignty as a people; they have the right to self-determination, as any other people. Bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy are willing to grant abstract "equality" to a minority, but when it comes to carrying this out to its logical conclusion, then they use every "democratic" means to keep these people subjected and oppressed. For this reason Lenin says:

> ". . . Communist International cannot limit itself to mere formal verbal declaration of the recognition of the equality of nations, which does not involve any practical obligations. . . ." [5]

This means that if we are consistent when we recognize that Negroes are equal, we must face the obligation—we must grant them the right to self-determination. The Soviet Union is the only government that holds this position in regards to its national minorities (separation of Finland) and where up to the present day each minority people enjoys that right. Slogan for the right to self-determination will put teeth into our slogan for equality of Negroes—it will, really, change our slogan from the abstract to concrete.

That Negroes in America actually form such a minority is not a recent discovery. From a hint Lenin made in 1920 in reference to Negroes in America, we can see how he looked upon them. When stating what the duty of Communists is in relation to the national revolutionary movements, he says:

> ". . . to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for instance, Ireland, *American Negroes*, etc.) and in the colonies." [6]

It is true, however, that owing to peculiar social-economic historical conditions (slavery, etc.) Negroes have not as yet a formed, organized national minority movement. They did not have the worship of national heroes of the past, and no real leaders of the present. But does that mean that they had no inkling of fighting

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[5] Theses and Resol. of the Second Congress of C. I. Thesis on Nat. and Colon. Quest.

[6] Ibid. point 9. (My emphasis.—J. P.)

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as a revolutionary minority? No, when their struggles were sharpest during the World War, they objectively assumed the struggle of a revolutionary minority. The following quotation, written during the World War by one of the 450 Negro papers, shows that this is true:

> ". . . have we not as much right as the Poles and Slavs to aspire to a free independent existence under which can be guaranteed and enjoyed 'security of life,' equal opportunities and unhampered development. And where are our leaders? Are their mouths stopped with the white man's gold that they can do nothing but mumble out advice to be patient and await a crazily conceived, absolutely unprecedented 'peaceful solution' . . . ? Are they traitors or fools? Bought or untaught?" [7]

What does this show? It shows that when a real struggle for equality develops, it cannot but assume the form of a revolutionary national minority movement. Another quotation appearing in the same paper of January 2, 1918, shows conclusively upon what geographic area this revolutionary national minority movement is to base itself:

> "Can America demand Germany to give up her Poles and Austria her Slavs, while America still holds in the harshest possible bondage a *nation* of over ten million people, who occupy in the majority several of the Southern States. . . ." [8]

It was particularly because the struggle of the Negroes at that time was assuming such concrete forms that the struggle for equality of Negroes became really dangerous to the government of U. S. It was for this reason that the government tried every possible way to disorganize this crystalizing movement. A Negro was made special assistant to the Secretary of War; conferences of Negro editors were held in Washington, a captaincy promised to the then militant Du Bois, etc. Negro masses should learn a lesson from this, and we Communists, too.

Now, who is to lead such a movement and what forms will it take? The resolution also points out that "A concrete plan must also be presented to the Congress for an intensified struggle for the economic, social, political and national demands of the Negro

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[7] From C. Briggs' article in August, 1929 *Communist*, page 458.

[8] From C. Briggs' article in August, 1929 *Communist*, page 459.

NOTE: It is interesting that while Comrade Briggs brings these excellent quotations, he fails to mention that the C. I. resolution speaks of this, i. e., the slogan for Right to Self-Determination.—J. P.

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masses." [9] This movement, then, will embody the demands of the oppressed Negro population. And although the Negro proletariat should have the beginning of this movement, the Negro peasantry, petty and middle bourgeoisie will be the driving force of this movement, because it is a national revolutionary movement. The ultimate task of this national revolutionary movement is bourgeois democratic revolution, and not as Pepper implies in his pamphlet "Negro Soviet Republic." The establishment of soviet republics is the task of a proletarian movement (Communist Party) and not of a national revolutionary movement. But, of course, the task of the proletariat in this movement is to make this bourgeois democratic revolution as radical as possible, and if conditions are ripe, to turn the bourgeois democratic revolution into a proletarian revolution. This, however, is to be decided when the movement comes, in the light of the relationship of class forces of the whole country. At present, the A. N. L. C. must come out as the champion of the oppressed Negro masses. The slogan of "Right to self-determination" does not specify what form of government is to be established. The Negro people have the right to decide this. It may be a Negro republic. If we limit it to a Soviet Republic, we automatically limit the movement and transform it into a proletarian movement (Communist Party). By properly approaching the Negro masses, by educating them that they are a national minority, have rights as such, and that this is the proper way of fighting for equality, and they will fight for these demands, only with such approach can we fight the white chauvinism (white supremacy) effectively. It may mean slow, careful, and painstaking work, but, once we convince the Negro that he is equal to other peoples and as such has the right to self-determination, he will feel that he is "somebody" and will fight for his rights. The root of white chauvinism and discrimination of Negroes is not only that Negroes at one time were slaves, but that they are "nobody," they "have no country," etc. Once we explain to Negroes our policy, there is no danger that they will suspect that we advocate segregation, because only by having self-confidence and self-respect will the Negroes be able to fight the discrimination and segregation effectively.

Just as in the case of any national revolutionary movement, so in the case of Negroes in America, the slogan for the right to self-determination cannot be an isolated slogan of struggle. The C. I. resolution points out that the program of the A. N. L. C. should include not only the economic, social, political and national demands of the Negro masses, but "especially the agrarian demands

[9] From the C. I. resolution on Negro Question in U. S., point 10.

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of the Negro farmers and tenants in the South." The various existing Negro organizations (with the exception of the dying Garvey confused "back to Africa" movement), the 450 Negro papers, all of which are struggling, some more militantly than others, against the imperialist oppressor, can easily be won over and directed into an organized national revolutionary movement of the oppressed Negroes. The militancy of Negroes during the World War is pointed out above, their militancy to struggle now (resort to armed resistance against lynching, etc.) shows that such a revolutionary movement is possible. Such a national revolutionary movement will be the only real weapon for the liberation of the Negro masses, a movement that will deal a blow to American imperialism and thereby hasten the proletarian revolution.

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Draft Program for Negro Farmers in the Southern States

I.

1. Out of the twelve million Negroes in the United States, about eight million live in the South, over six million of whom live in villages and country settlements and are engaged in farming. The vast majority of Negroes are small farmers, tenants and wage laborers. All of them suffer from a three-fold yoke: (1) national (racial) oppression, (2) survivals of slavery, (3) capitalist exploitation. To free the rural toilers of this three-fold yoke is something that can be accomplished only through a revolution of the broad masses of Negroes under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and its Communist Party. This revolution is a part of the general American social revolution which like the October Revolution in Russia, will solve the problem of national (racial) emancipation and the abolition of all relics of slavery.

II. THE FARMERS AND THEIR VARIOUS STRATA

2. The rural toilers and the exploited who must be led by the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism, or who must at least be won over by the workers in this struggle, consist in the United States, as in all capitalist countries, of the following groups:

(a) The agricultural laborers (proletarians), who work for wages in capitalist agricultural or industrial enterprises.

The agricultural workers constitute a part of the proletariat. However, these workers have a certain characteristic which frequently renders their struggle against capitalist society difficult. An objective reason of this is that the agricultural laborers are scattered in the labor process and that "patriarchal" relations still prevail in the countryside. These peculiar conditions make it difficult for the agricultural proletariat to understand the class interests and convert it into a "backward" section of the working class. It goes without saying that the tasks of the proletarian parties is to win over this section of the population first and foremost.

(b) The semi-proletarian or small farmers (the rural poor) who live partly on wages, who work partly in capitalist agricultural or industrial enterprises, and partly on their own or hired land,

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the fruits of which, however, is insufficient for their maintenance and the upkeep of their families.

The difference between the rural poor and the proletariat arises from the private property owned by the former. But this difference is absolutely insignificant and is entirely lost in the community of their interests. Being independent producers only in form these sections of the population are in fact totally subordinated to capitalism and are workers exploited by the capitalists. Consequently, they side with the proletariat, constituting a potential reserve of the latter.

(c) The small farmers (owners of land or tenants) who possess a small tract of land sufficient to satisfy their needs and the need of their families, and who do not employ hired labor.

The difference between the small farmer and the proletariat arises from the nature of the interests of private commodity producers. However, the small farmer frequently has to buy bread, sometimes he works temporarily for wages. His basic interests prompt him therefore to fight the big capitalist.

With the victory of the proletariat, the small farmer can only gain, since the revolution frees him of his duty to pay rent, relieves him of his mortgages, of the numerous forms of oppression, of his dependence on the big landlords, etc. The small farmer can thereby be won over to the side of the proletariat and may prove to be a firm ally of the latter.

3. Apart from these three groups of farmers constituting the majority of the rural population in all capitalist countries, there is in the United States, as in all other capitalist countries, a group of middle farmers, that is, tenants or owners of tracts of land, sufficient: (1) to feed the family if cultivated on capitalist lines and to make possible some accumulation which at least in good years may turn into capital, (2) to make necessary the employment of hired labor.

The fundamental difference between the middle farmers and the working class lies in the fact that the former are independent commodity producers based on private property, although the farmer is in this case himself a producer. The interests of the seller of grain (the farmer) and the purchaser (the worker) are diametrically opposed. However, there are certain factors connected with the subordinate position occupied by the middle farmer in the process of capitalist exploitation (usury, the high price policy of the trusts, taxes, the imperialist machinery of state, war, etc.), which may by far counter-balance his differences with the proletariat. These sections may therefore be neutralized and wherever capitalist oppression is particularly strong, or wherever it is combined

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with feudal oppression, the middle farmers may be on the side of the proletariat.

4. Finally, there is in all capitalist countries a group of rich farmers, who are capitalists, regularly working their farms with the aid of hired labor, having only this much in common with the rest of the farmers, that they are on the same cultural level, that they lead the same forms of life and that they themselves also till the land.

5. The attitude of the proletariat to the small and, largely so, to the middle farmers, should be to establish an alliance with them and to lead them. This specific inter-class relationship, without eliminating the class distinctions, is based on a commodity of interests in the struggle against the big landlords and big capitalists. It assumes various forms and finally at a certain point after the capture and consolidation of power by the proletariat, and its economic base, this relationship is liquidated of itself since class relations in general gradually begin to disappear.

III. THE POSITION OF THE FARMERS IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States of America, as a country with highly developed productive forces, with a highly centralized industry, in which small production is of no great importance, with an old bourgeois-democratic political order, the problem of the social revolution is on the order of the day. As pointed out in the program of the Comintern the main political task of that revolution will be immediately to introduce the proletarian dictatorship. In the economic sphere its most characteristic features will be the "expropriation of the whole of the large-scale industry; organization of a large number of State Soviet farms and, in contrast to this, a relatively small portion of the land to be transferred to the peasantry; unregulated market relations to be given comparatively small scope; rapid rate of socialist development generally, and of collectivization of peasant farming in particular."

In view of the fact that the United States is confronted with the task of accomplishing the social revolution and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, the chief slogan of the Communist Party of the United States in regard to the farmers must be that of an alliance of the proletariat with the rural poor (the small and dwarfish farmers) in opposition to the entire bourgeoisie, and the neutralization of the middle farmers.

In accordance with this fundamental Leninist slogan the central political task of Communist work among the farmers is to split them up, unite the small and petty farmers around the revolutionary vanguard of the American proletariat, in the struggle against the big

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farmers. Without this split the farmers will remain united, i. e., the small and middle farmers will remain under the economic, political and spiritual sway of the big farmers, and of the imperialist bourgeoisie in general.

7. The entire course of capitalist development ruins the small and middle farmers and tends to accentuate the class struggle amongst the American farmers. But the American bourgeoisie and the American reformists endeavor by every means to obscure the differences prevailing among the farmers. They want to create an illusory struggle for common farm interests. They counterpose the interests of all farmers to those of the working class and of industry. It is by this means that the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents in the farmers' movement endeavor to keep the small and middle farmers under the leadership of the big farmers and consequently under the hegemony of the entire imperialist bourgeoisie.

The task of the revolutionary farmers' organizations is to explain to the masses of small and middle farmers the falseness of bourgeois agitation for common farmers' interests, to explain that the ruining of the farmers, etc. is not common to all farmers but is something of which only the small and partly the middle farmers have to suffer.

8. In the past few years American agriculture is to an ever-larger extent being brought under the sway of finance capital and experiences in connection with that of a technical revolution. Tractors and combines have taken the upper hand in American large-scale agriculture. It becomes for the small, and even the middle farmer, ever more difficult to compete with mechanized modern large-scale farming. The price of production in small and even middle farming is incomparably higher than the price of production on big farms. As a result of this, the technical revolution tends to drive the small farmers off their land, to concentrate the soil in big farms, to create agricultural stock companies, etc.

9. The position of the small farmer who is unable to compete with large-scale farming which is equipped with modern technique becomes still worse, owing to the direct plunder of the small and partly the middle farmers by finance capital in the form of an unbearable credit policy. The interest on small credit is forbiddingly high. The cost of transportation, especially on small consignments, is extremely high. The small and middle farmer has to pay much more than the big farmer for manufactured products. Statistics on the cost of manufactured goods in the United States, especially agricultural machinery and implements, as a result of the plunderous price policy of monopoly capital, are generally known. It is perfectly obvious that the high cost of manufactured goods affects

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primarily the small and middle farmers whose expenses in production are relatively higher, who pay higher interest and whose marketing conditions are worse, etc.

In the sphere of marketing of his product, the average farmer is in the hands of big elevator companies and all possible associations in the struggle against which he is defenseless. Even the cooperative organizations which are one of the forms of finance capital getting the upper hand, objectively serve the interest of the big farmers and are detrimental to the small ones.

In addition to the robbing of the small farms by finance capital, there is the centralized robbery on the part of the imperialist state in the form of unbearably high taxes. Taxes constantly rise in the past few years, especially during the years following the war, and they have now become unbearable for the small farmers.

10. A detrimental effect on the small and middle farmers is produced by the low prices of farm products called forth by the ups and downs in the agrarian crisis. The present agrarian crisis is one of the expressions of the fundamental contradictions of stabilization of capitalism, are expressions of the sharpening antagonism in the imperialist epoch between town and country, between industry and agriculture.

However, it would be profoundly wrong to believe that the agrarian crisis, especially the low prices, has an equal effect on all farmers.

As in time of industrial crises the small enterprises are mostly effected, so is it with the small and middle farmers at the time of an agrarian crisis. The price of production on small and middle farms is considerably higher than on big farms owing to the shortcomings of small farming as compared with modern agriculture. Apart from that the rent paid by small and middle tenant farmers, for instance, is immeasurably higher than that paid by big farmers. Consequently, the disintegration of the farmers as a result of an agrarian crisis and falling grain prices does not hold true of all farmers but chiefly of the small ones. In time of a crisis the small farmer cannot pay his rent, he cannot pay interest on his mortgages, he cannot buy the high priced manufactured commodities, etc. Hence, the fall of grain prices and the agrarian crisis hasten the process of disintegration of the farmers, help to ruin the small ones and to enrich the big ones to the detriment of the former.

11. The American farmers' press is full of reports concerning the ruination of the farmers. In truth, however, it is not all farmers that are being ruined but only the small and partly the middle ones, while the big farmers are growing rich. All those who cry

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about the ruin of the farmers, about the sale of farmers' property and land on auction, hush up the fact that there is someone who buys this land and property on auction. The truth of the matter is that in connection with the present technical revolution there is a highly intense process of ruination of the small and partly the middle farmers and concentration of their land and means of production in the hands of the big farmers.

It is most characteristic of the present technical revolution in the sphere or agriculture that large stock companies buy up the land and form large agrarian stock companies, running farms equipped with most modern technique. The process of farmers leaving their homesteads and coming to the towns to be noticed particularly since the war, reflects precisely this ruining of the small and partly the middle farmers and the concentration of their land and means of production in the hands of big farmers and even of big stock companies.

12. From the above it follows that it would be a big mistake to cherish illusions concerning the possibility to improve the position of the small and partly the middle farmer under capitalism. On the contrary, the chief object of our agitation and propaganda is to explain to the broad masses of small and partly the middle farmers the process of their ruin under capitalism. Our chief task is to expose all machinations of the big farmers, finance capital and the government. By the organization of farmers' bureaus and by small bribes to the farmers, they are trying to cover up the actual position of the small and middle farmer and to create the illusion that the small farmer suffers merely from some minor defects of the capitalist order and not from the capitalist system as such, a system which inevitably spells the ruin and decay of small farming. We must explain the process of agriculture falling into the hands of finance capital, how finance capital ruins the small and middle farmers. We must explain to the farmers that the chief measures taken by the government and the big farmers in the matter of price regulation, in the matter of credit, etc., merely serve to deceive the small and middle farmers; that objectively speaking, these measures serve the interests of large-scale farming. All these measures objectively strengthen the position of the big farmers and help the latter to swallow the ruined small and partly the middle farmers.

We must explain to the broad masses of farmers that the only way they can save themselves from ruin is to establish an alliance with the working class and to fight under the leadership of the latter for the overthrow of the whole capitalist order, for the establishment of a worker-farmer government which in the United States is synonymous with a proletarian dictatorship.

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It must be explained that the chief task of the farmer is to fight hand in hand with and under the leadership of the working class for the overthrow of the capitalist system, for the nationalization of industry and big farms and the transference of part of the land, the cattle and machinery to the small farmers, accompanied by voluntary cooperation and collectivization of the small and middle farmers.

IV. THE POSITION OF THE NEGRO FARMERS

13. The Negro farmers in the South occupy a special position. Out of 915,595 Negro farmers, 218,612 own their land, 1,759 are "managers," 701,471 are tenants and share croppers.

All share croppers, the vast majority of tenants, and a large section of proprietors, belong to the category of petty semi-proletarian farmers. Together with the small farmers and agricultural laborers (whose number is about one million) they comprise the vast majority of the Negro farmers. Close by this group are the middle farmers, and only a small group of Negro farmers belongs to the big bourgeoisie.

14. Apart from the burdens oppressing the American farmers in general, the middle farmers have to withstand exploitation owing to their racial difference.

The entire Negro farm population suffers from unbearable taxes, from high monopoly prices, from exploitation on the part of the middlemen from whom they buy manufactured goods, exploitation on the part of the railways, the packing houses, milk trusts and grain elevator companies, from the usurers, mortgages, etc. The Negro farmers have no right to organize their cooperatives, farmer leagues or farmer labor organizations.

The tenants and share croppers suffer from all kinds of usurious contrasts containing the elements of slavery or serfdom, such as:

(a) Contracts stipulating the eviction of the tenant from the land before the term expires for not paying in time.

(b) Contracts binding the tenant or share cropper to purchase products and other means of subsistence in the store or shop of the landlord.

(c) Contracts prohibiting the tenant or the share cropper to cultivate certain crops or obliging him to cultivate one or several specified crops.

(d) Contracts binding the share cropper to sell his crop to the landlord on a previously fixed price.

(e) Contracts which do not definitely fix the rent, which is left to the landlord to decide.

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(f) Contracts stipulating that the tenants or share croppers must give up half of their crop to the landlord.

The Negro *farm hands* are subjected to super-exploitation on racial grounds. For the same kind of work their pay is less than that of the whites. Their working day is much longer than that of the white workers. They are not insured for disability, unemployment or illness. They often work in conditions recalling the worst forms of slavery (peonage, the convict lease system). In many places they are actually deprived of the right to organize and strike. Most severely exploited are the women and children who work twelve hours a day and more, and sometimes at night.

15. In addition to the economic slavery of the Negro farmers there is the absolute denial of their political rights. The Negroes in most of the Southern States are deprived of their most elementary citizenship rights, they have no right to vote, they take no part in the legislative bodies, nor in the administration of their State, county or village. They have no right to the same judicial defense as whites. They suffer from a whole system of restrictions on racial grounds (the Jim Crow system, the prohibition of inter-marriages, etc.), they are subjected to most severe persecution (lynching, pogroms), they are deprived of the chance to receive an education the same as the whites, etc.

V. THE NEGRO FARMERS AS AN ALLY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT

16. The Negro *agraian proletariat* is a part of the American proletariat. Its class interests and aims are the same as those of all American workers. They can and should be drawn into the general struggle of the American proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party for the overthrow of American capitalism and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship.

17. The class interests and aims of the Negro farmers and tenants are various, depending upon the various groups they belong to.

The small and petty farmers, the tenants and share croppers, are wholly interested in the complete abolition of the survivals of serfdom and slavery, capitalist exploitation and national (racial) distinction. Being petty proprietors they, it is true, are bound up with the system of private property and dream of securing a piece of land for themselves. But this is exactly why they are the allies of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle against the survivals of feudal and slave relations and against capitalism which ruins day in and day out ever-larger numbers of small proprietors, convincing them thereby of the impossibility of their maintenance under

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capitalism. Apart from that, they can receive land only from the victorious proletariat.

The Middle farmers and tenants comprise a group vacillating between the proletariat and the capitalists. Being independent and more or less strong proprietors, their economic interests coincide to a certain extent with the interests of the capitalists. Nevertheless, in view of the heavy pressure brought to bear upon them by the survivals of feudalism and slavery and also by the political and social inequality to which they are subjected on racial grounds, just like the Negro farm hands and the small and petty farmers, which inevitably generates amongst them the ideas of "racial solidarity," they can only be neutralized in the first stages of development of the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalists, and most of them, the basic mass, can even be drawn over to the side of the revolutionary proletariat together with the small and petty farmers as active allies of the working class in the struggles against the feudal and slave forms of exploitation and racial oppression. Of course, when the struggle will be directed for socialism and against the bourgeoisie as such, the middle farmers can at best be only neutralized.

18. As to the *rich Negro farmers,* the capitalists, landlords, merchants and usurers, they, in spite of their subjucated position as Negroes in the political and social sphere, will in the class struggle side with the capitalists and play an objectively counter-revolutionary role even in the movement for racial emancipation of their own race.

VI. THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGRO FARMERS BY THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

19. The toiling masses of Negro farmers can be freed from slavery, capitalist exploitation and racial oppression only by a proletarian revolution through the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in the shape of a Soviet Government. This revolution will in its wake solve also the problems of national emancipation and will abolish the remnants of feudalism and slavery.

The proletarian State, and it alone, will:

(a) Confiscate and nationalize all landed property in the towns and the country.

(b) Confiscate all means of production on big landed estates, such as buildings, machinery and similar property, cattle, enterprises working up agricultural products (big mills, dairies, etc.).

(c) Transfer the big estates, especially those of a model type or of great economic importance, to be administered by the proletarian dictatorship and organized into government farms.

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(d) Transfer part of the confiscated land, especially that which is cultivated by tenant farmers and is used as a means of economic enslavement of the latter, to the farmers (the poor and partly the middle strata) for use.

(e) Prohibit the purchase and sale of land with the object of preserving the soil in the hands of the farmers and with the object of preventing its becoming the property of capitalists, speculators, etc.

(f) Fight against usury, cancel the usurious contracts, free the exploited farmers from their debts and from taxes, etc.

(g) Take extensive government measures to increase the productive forces of agriculture, develop electricity, the production of tractors, artificial fertilizers, choice seeds, and cattle on government farms, amelioration, credit.

(h) Support and finance farmers' cooperation and all forms of collective agricultural production (associations, communes, etc.), systematically advocate cooperation among the farmers (in the sphere of marketing, purchase and credit) on the basis of mass self-activity of the farmers, advocate the adoption of large-scale farming which owing to its technical and economic advantages, will be of direct benefit and most accessible to the broad masses of toiling farmers as a means of transition to socialism.

The proletarian State, and it alone, will abolish all national and racial restrictions, giving each national group the full right to self-determination and equalizing the chances of economic development for all more backward peoples and nations.

The chief task of the toiling Negro farmers is therefore to fight hand in hand with the revolutionary proletariat and under its leadership for the overthrow of the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation, for the establishment of a labor-farmer government, which in the United States is tantamount to a proletarian dictatorship.

VII. THE STRUGGLE FOR PARTIAL DEMANDS

20. The struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, for the proletarian socialist revolution, does not exclude, but on the contrary, pre-supposes and demands the conduct of a daily revolutionary struggle for partial demands, for partial improvement of the economic and political conditions of the oppressed and exploited masses within the framework of the capitalist order.

21. *Negro farmers* must energetically fight against unbearable taxes, against high monopoly prices, for lower prices of manufactured trustified products needed by the farmers, against exploitation by the middlemen who sell manufactured goods, the railways, the

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packing houses, dairy trusts, grain elevator companies, etc., against usurious credit, etc. This struggle must be waged by means of a refusal to pay taxes, declaration of a boycott on the capitalists and their enterprises, individual and collective refusal to pay on usurious contracts.

22. *The Negro tenants and share croppers* must wage an energetic daily struggle against usurious agreements, declaring strikes against usurious conditions, refusing to live up to unbearable agreements, etc.

23. *The Negro farm hands* must unceasingly fight for better working conditions, for a shorter working day, for higher wages, for equal pay for equal work with the whites, for the defense of female and juvenile labor and prohibition of child labor, for compulsory social insurance at the expense of the employers, for the annulment of all elements of slavery in labor contracts (peonage, payment in kind, etc.) and all elements of compulsion. This struggle must be waged in the form of strikes and boycotts, a refusal to live up to usurious contracts, etc.

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"The Era of Partners"

Review of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, *official organ of the A. F. of L., and its* 1929 *Convention*

By JOSEPH ZACK

THE 1929 National Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Montreal, just on the eve of the stock crash, synthesized the fascization process of that organization going on since the world war. The theoretical leader of this convention (recognized as such editorially by Green in the November issue) was Sir Henry Thornton, President of the Canadian Railways. This gentleman made the principal speech at the Convention, laying down the line for the A. F. of L. The Convention was greeted by the Premier of Canada, the ex-Premier, the Governor of the State Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Mayor of the City, various capitalists, etc., etc. Says Sir Henry:

"The future contact between capital and labor will find in the decades to come its finest expression in the era of the partners. . . . In the present day and in the days to come those industries will prosper most which accept labor as an *equal partner*, and labor will best prosper when it recognizes the obligations and the dignity of that partnership."

Otto S. Beyer, capitalist efficiency engineer, "Friend of Labor" and the Brains of the A. F. of L., puts a little more light upon this question. He also was one of the principal speakers at the Convention. Says Mr. Beyer:

"Instead of calling it 'workers' control of industry' or 'Democratic control of industry,' or even 'workers' participation in management,' by fortunate coincidence, the able men of the A. F. of L. have made it '*union and management cooperation.*'"

"We see this idea spreading, thriving, growing. . . . This is the meaning of the conference we read about in England, in Germany under the leadership of the 'German Federation of Workers,' also in Australia, France, the labor office of the League of Nations," etc.

It is necessary to say a few words on this "new" reformism.

The great majority of American workers before the world war had a petty bourgeois ideal, that is, they aspired to become petty proprietors, either farmers or business men. Their ideal was to "go into business for one's self." The economic basis for this ideal existed in the rapid growth of U. S. capitalism on the basis of

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the inner market, free and cheap land, promotion to well paid posts in the rapidly growing monopolies, etc., etc. This created an enormously broad base for bourgeois reformist movements, and prevented the crystallization of broad working class parties, mass trade unions, etc.

Already before the war the economic base of this type of ideology was disappearing, and after the war, a contrary process strongly manifested itself, that is, not only could the worker not escape from his class and become a petty bourgeois, but on the contrary, the petty bourgeoisie in agriculture and the city were driven out by monopoly by the hundreds of thousands yearly. *Instead of the worker becoming petty bourgeois, big masses of the petty bourgeoisie in city and country were being proletarianized under the rapid onward march of monopoly.*

At the same time, a big section, three millions, of those that were proletarianized and others that have been proletarians, were displaced from industry by rationalization *and put into the army of chronically part employed.*

This double process has now been going on for the last six years, and the crisis will further sharpen this development.

Although the economic basis for petty bourgeois ideology has considerably narrowed, the favorable position created for the U. S. bourgeoisie as a result of the world war helped to maintain the strong petty bourgeois traditions of the American workers, which the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is now trying hard to continue on a "new" basis, that is, labor is to become a "partner" in big business. It would have been quite difficult to make this "new era" policy before the war, as then the U. S. worker was not interested in long term perspectives in industry, but rather in getting as soon as possible enough money to get out of the factory and into his own business.

As a reformist theory (now fitted to imperialism by the social-fascists) this is nothing new; long before the war the "revolutionary" syndicalist theoretician Arturo Labriola spoke about the "gradual invasion of trade union organization into the economic processes," and L. Bissolati, Italian reformist, built upon this a whole theory of social reform.

Characteristic of the third period is that now Sir Henry Thornton, President of the Canadian Railways, and other big capitalists, consider it necessary to champion these theories in order to fool the Leftward moving workers. Says Sir Henry:

"The constructive functions of great labor organizations are not in dealing with such common things as hours of work and rates of pay; these are details . . . the right to fair treatment in such things has long been won. . . . The great constructive work

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lays in those larger policies upon which to erect an enduring industrial structure, which will in a bigger sense promote the welfare of man. . . .

"I believe it is given to labor to make such a momentous contribution to the advancement of civilization, a contribution which will rank equally with the great discoveries of the ages."

Sir Henry then points out how the employee goes to work with the pride of a partner, having a "fine patriotic pride that his efforts are a substantial contribution to the welfare of the country." The workers employed under this class collaboration scheme Sir Henry calls "sixteen thousand partners." Henry claims that 6,000 suggestions for improvement of production have been made by the workers in his employ, most of which have proven of value; his efficiency engineer, O. S. Beyer, speaking at the Convention, put it forward as the "new" patent medicine to avoid the class struggle in the U. S. Beyer said:

"What a competent working man wants first is to be enabled to do a good job, and what he wants next is the privilege to be of influence as an intelligent human being in shaping all of the conditions which affect his job and livelihood."

The reader should note that this brain of the A. F. of L., Beyer, compares the "union and management cooperation" with "workers' control of industry" and claims that the worker under this plan has influence "in shaping all of the conditions which affect his job and livelihood." How does that differ from the phrases of the "Left" social-democrat?

The role of the workers in this new partnership was, after all, the "lofty" talk, specified by these two representatives of capital in the following capitalist fashion:

1. To increase output with reduced costs.

2. Utilization of the ingenuity and brain of our men.

In return for this the workers are promised:

3. A more kindly relationship between the management and the employees. (Very charitable!—J. Z.)

4. Continuity of employment.

There is another point advanced by Mr. Beyer personally:

5. Willingness to help the unions solve some of their problems in return for services rendered.

Point 5 means that the company will cooperate with the union officials in checking off the men's dues and assessments from their pay, weeding out militants, etc. That is, if the union officials "behave."

We live in the days of parasitic imperialism of absentee owners

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who contribute nothing and who retain such as Beyers as their management, hence Mr. Beyers explains his theory further:

"It is necessary to place the workers in a position of advice, of counsel to the management, so that the various inadequacies and shortcomings in industry can be checked up . . . in other words, the interest, *the incentive, must be shifted from the conventional owner to the workers of the industry*, who in reality have far more at stake than any stockholder has or ever will have." While Mr. Beyers presented this "new" social theory he must have had a feeling that he said too much, that the workers cannot be made eunuchs and robots so easily, hence he tried to cover up somewhat the real sense of his capitalist scheme:

"And lest anyone may conclude that *this* ("partnership"—J. Z.) *is a one-sided proposition*, permit me to observe that it fits ideally into the theory of high wages and their benefits advocated by the A. F. of L." (My emphasis.)

This is, then, the theory which these gentlemen imagine will rank amongst the "great discoveries of the ages," in order to continue to keep the workers petty-bourgeoisified. Later on, on the basis of other quotations, we will show what a poor substitute indeed this is for the pre-war "cheap land" and "going into business." It is the last brave effort of the American bourgeoisie anticipating the end of class peace.

DIVIDING THE EMPLOYED FROM THE UNEMPLOYED

A part and parcel of "The Partnership" policy is what the A. F. of L. call "*regularization of employment.*" This means that the A. F. of L. union helps the employer to get rid of the superfluous men, and that to those that remain employed there should be steady work; when new rationalization methods develop as a result of "The Partnership," then those superfluous are again gotten rid of and the remaining men remain "steady," etc. The leading article on unemployment in the Convention number, November issue of the "American Federationist," is by Solomon Barkin of Instruction College, New York. Says this "friend of labor"; "*Regularization of employment means freeing the industrial plants of these appendages.*" (The superfluous workers.—J. Z.)

B. M. Jewell, President of the Railway Department of the A. F. of L., in the September issue has an article with the headline "Fifty Million Dollars Wage Increase." Does this not sound great? Mr. Jewell and his colleagues were more successful than their brethren in other industries; they succeeded in inducing the government to embody "The Partnership" into a compulsory anti-strike law on the U. S. Railways, the result of which is that in-

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stead of two million workers being employed on the railways there are only about 1,600,000, that is, 400,000 less.

Fifty million dollars would employ about 40,000 men for one year; the company got rid of 400,000 workmen and this Mr. Jewell, scoundrel incarnate, calls a fifty million dollars wage increase. Of course, Jewell is not concerned with those thrown out of work; on the contrary, as at another occasion stated by Mathew Woll, "*It is better to have a small group of contented men than a mass in turmoil.*" To create a labor aristocracy out of those steadily employed, to set them against the unemployed and part employed, this is the plain purpose of the "regularization" policy.

The biggest finance capitalists control the U. S. railways; the A. F. of L. policy has had success with them, some of them are inviting the A. F. of L. to replace the company unions. This is what Jewell calls: "A substantial testimonial to the improved relations between management and employees."

Mr. Green is somewhat concerned with this by-product of "The Partnership" policy. He complains in the October issue that "The Middle Aged Worker has increasingly found work opportunities restricted and his income reduced. . . . There is a steadily increasing number of inmates in alms houses." The A. F. of L. Convention referred this problem "gracefully" to a commission to "study" a project of a law to insure old workers of 65 and more years of age, the compensation to be $300 per year, $25 a month; a beggar in the U. S. paying no rent for lodging could not live on less. The impudence of these $10,000 a year scoundrels knows no limit. This then is the program and policy elaborated at the A. F. of L. Convention.

THE CONVENTION GOES TO THE "LEFT"

The Convention took place at a time when numerous strikes particularly in the South, indicated the new temper of the masses; the bourgeois representatives were getting exceedingly quarrelsome amongst themselves in Congress and a number of leading capitalists in control of big chains of newspapers were calculating on new methods, new misleaders with which to hoodwink the masses. A new "progressive" group headed by Muste and Thomas was being given extensive publicity in the bourgeois press.

Later on, Thomas, running for Mayor of New York on the Socialist Party ticket, was given a boost by the bourgeois press and several hundred respectable business men endorsed his candidacy and formed a committee to carry on his election campaign. The Howard-Scripps chain of newspapers, with an advertised circulation of 15,000,000, attacked the A. F. of L. leadership for their "labor

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aristocracy" backwardness, in short, the American bourgeoisie was in a planful way preparing to intercept the Leftward swing of the masses by furnishing it with a near "Left" leadership. This new leadership professes to be in favor of industrial unionism, Labor Party, organization of the unorganized, etc., but on the question of rationalization, the principal problem, it agrees with the policy of the A. F. of L. as we shall show.

The Convention leaders found ways to clothe their politics in more "progressive" phrases, "The Partnership Era" you see, is supposed to be more than mere cooperation; the Convention went *on record* for social insurance and Green even said that *when* the time comes American labor will not hesitate "to discuss" the question of going into Labor Party politics. Green spoke a great deal about organizing the unorganized, particularly in the South where the Communists are organizing the workers. Green even let out some plaints against rationalization; "*the stretch-out system* in addition to long hours and low wages spurred patient workers to revolt. He became eloquent: "high standards cannot continue to exist in industry (North) if low standards are tolerated in considerable areas" (South). He took a fling even at the capitalists, by saying: "They believe to have the right to decide industrial issues by force and have invoked the help of State troops." With considerable noise a resolution was adopted to mobilize the entire A. F. of L. in order to organize the South. To help the reader to get clearer what this actually means I will let Mr. Green speak. "There are employers who are afraid they will lose something if workers organize. . . . The power behind the anti-union forces is the conviction of some employers that they must keep labor down; they fail to grasp the advantages of cooperation. . . . *Educational publicity should answer these objections.*" (My emphasis.)

What Green means by educational publicity is illustrated by Mr. Darnal, president of a building construction corporation of Minneapolis, Minnesota, and who appears in the October issue of "American Federationist." Says this capitalist:

"This agreement (new contract with the union.—J. Z.) guaranteed to us that there will be no strikes . . . and while it was a one hundred per cent closed shop program, nevertheless a clause in the agreement gave us the right to hire and discharge, and if the unions were not able to furnish us satisfactory workmen with union cards . . . we had the right to employ other labor . . . we have saved from fifteen to twenty-five per cent in the cost of labor over what it would have cost us with non-union labor and we have obtained better workmanship."

So you see the organizing problem in the eyes of the A. F. of

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L. leaders resolves itself in convincing the capitalists that with their help the workers can be enslaved much better. Against recalcitrant employers that fail to be convinced Green conceives of the possibility even of strikes, until negotiations with the employers to sell these workers in an organized fashion are possible, then the strike is off. *"Where the A. F. of L. is accepted there will be no strikes"* Green assures the capitalists.

Another outstanding "Progressive" event of the Convention was its adoption of a projected anti-injunction bill. The A. F. of L. was going on record against the "arbitrary" suppression of strikes by the State. This proposed law against injunctions is against State interference in strikes making, however, the following exceptions:

1. When unlawful acts are committed *or may be committed.* (My emphasis.)

2. When substantial or irreparable injury is done to property.

3. When public officers are unable or unwilling to furnish adequate protection to property.

It is clear that this "progressive" measure to regularize the "unwarranted" State terrorism against strikes which the A. F. of L. leaders proposed in agreement with many of the bourgeois legislators in Washington is in reality a national anti-strike law. What strikes could not be outlawed under this bill?

This *pro-injunction* bill is in line with "The Partnership" policy of Green and company. The only strike that Green,Woll & Co., under this policy would consider legal is that which would arise out of the contradictions of capitalist competition where sometimes one group of capitalists want the workers of another group to go on strike in order to hurt the competitor's business, etc. Another type of strike is of the highly skilled in certain trades who cannot be replaced and only need to sit home to make their demands effective; such "strikes" provided they are led by the A. F. of L., Green under this bill would be willing to declare legal; all others Green, Woll & Co. *through this law propose to crush with the aid of the State.* This is the essence of this proposed law. In the light of this no one needs to wonder at Green's declaration to Hoover's crisis conference that *"the A. F. of L. will call no strikes during the crisis."* The question should be asked: *Which is the strike in the last six years that the A. F. of L. did not work against?*

It is a long time already that strikes take place in spite of and against the A. F. of L. The significance of Green's statement means however, that now the A. F. of L. will openly step in on the side of the government against strikes instead of more or less covertly as in the past. As to the promise of the capitalists not to make

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wage reductions, it is indeed amusing; they have been making direct wage reductions, and indirect ones by replacing higher paid with lower paid labor. Now these saintly capitalists are supposed to stop all this, and during the crisis at that. The huge new wage reductions already taking place in steel, machine manufacture, textile, etc. make the value of this promise already clear now. The essence of the reciprocal promise, however, is this: In return for the promise of the A. F. of L. leaders to *cooperate* in the breaking of the strikes of the masses of unorganized (ninety per cent of the working class) and outlaw strikes of the organized, the capitalists promise not to make any *direct* wage reductions to the ten per cent organized in the A. F. of L., considering the fact that the A. F. of L. under the "partnership" policy, itself "regularizes" the speed-up in the interests of the capitalists. Interesting to note, however, is, that the promise was made by the capitalists of the unorganized industries. The building construction capitalists where the A. F. of L. has the bulk of its membership did not really commit themselves.

As an interesting illustration of the A. F. of L. attitude on the injunction question *in practice*, should be taken Green's editorial comment on the New Orleans street carmen's strike. In this strike conducted by the local A. F. of L. organization, the local government was paralyzed, considerable of the population sympathized with the strikers, even sections of the police refused to act against them.

The Washington government stepped in through a federal injunction and deputized hundreds of gunmen (declassed petty bourgeois and bums) to maintain "law and order." Pitched battles between these "deputy marshals" and the strikers took place in the streets. Green personally made the usual *sell-out* settlement, which the street car company, reinforced by the Federal Government, attempted to apply against the will of the strikers who struck against it as soon as they *felt* what it was. Green, commenting in the August issue upon this, complains that the local givernment could not maintain "order" and puts the query: "Shall Federal Courts be allowed to continue their invasion of local government?" The proposed "anti"-injunction bill answers it *yes* when it says: "In the event that public officers are unable or unwilling to furnish adequate protection to property the injunction should be used." To make sure that there shall be no misunderstanding of the A. F. of L. position towards the "unlawful" militancy of the strikers Green says:

"The American Federation of Labor has no desire to protect persons guilty of *overt acts* or crimes" (my emphasis. Such is the new Progressive a la Muste spirit displayed at the 1929 A. F. of

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L. Convention and its practice before and after the Convention in the light of utterances of the Convention speakers, resolutions, and Green himself.

THE MUSTE "PROGRESSIVES"

On the question of the economic crisis all shades in the counter-revolutionary camp agree. Green, like Hoover, and all apologists for capitalism, points out that it is "foolish" to doubt the soundness of American capitalist economy. Some use slightly different phrases to express the same point of view. Green says:

"The crash occurred at a time when business was fundamentally sound." Lovestone says: "The panic came as a result of the very strength of American capitalist economy." Muste and Cannon express the same view in a similar way. . . . On such fundamental questions Hoover lays down the law to all of them. The differences between the "Lefts" and the "Rights" in the counter-revolutionary scoial-fascist camp is one of methodology, that is:

1. Whether the workers can be fooled more effectively now through industrial unions instead of craft unions.

2. Through a Labor Party instead of the Democratic Party.

3. Whether the strike weapon must be more utilized or less in the establishment of "The Partnership."

4. Whether it is better to organize the unorganized for "The Partnership" inside or outside the A. F. of L.

5. Differences as to the degree of practicing "The Partnership" and how it shall be operated.

Only the new trade union center led by the C. P. of U. S. A (*minus Lovestone*) has now really a principle position *against* "The Partnership." *All others have not.*

A few illustrations as to the *practice* of the Muste leadership on this central question as illustrated by the Schlesinger Socialists in the Needle Trades in New York, which is the subject of the entire December issue of "The Federationist." Schlesinger, president of the Union, relates there how he brought "order into the industry" after the Communists destroyed it. He "made a loan" from the bankers interested in the industry in order to "reestablish" the union; then he says:

"We entered into negotiations with the employers *primarily* to stabilize the industry. The associations of employers (there are several in this industry) accepted our proposal and a permanent joint commission was organized for the purpose of *joint control* over the industry. We further proposed that a representative of the Government (public) head this commission." (My emphasis

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throughout.) Could the trinity of capitalists, government, and the trade union bureaucracy be put forward more brazenly?

As to what the workers were to get out of it, it is stated in one sentence: "*We did not look for new gains.*" As to the control the union is to have, insofar as it is not in the interests of the dominant group of employers in the industry, is stated in the following:

The union has the "right to enter shops *once in every season* (six months) for the purpose of examining *the dues books* of the workers." The meaning of this is quite plain; this model Muste union gives the bosses a free hand to do as those that control the industry see fit to do, in return for which the bosses will force the workers to pay dues and to show their good faith they allow agents of the socialist Muste union to control the dues books twice a year. When it comes to such a fundamental question as "partnership" in imposing the yoke upon the workers there is no difference between Muste and Green. Says Schlesinger:

"We were assisted especially by President Green, Vice-President Woll . . . and by Lieutenant-Governor Lehman (representative of the bankers and government of the State of New York.—J. Z.) who took a deep interest in the settlement." All the other Muste unions have essentially the same characteristics as this. There is no wonder then that this kind of "lefts" find a "progressive spirit" even in the phrases and proposals of the 1929 A. F. of L. Convention, and still for reasons indicated in the above five points find ways to pose as the representatives of "genuine progress."

CONCLUSION

As Sir Henry Thornton said at the A. F. of L. Convention: "*No general, however great his skill, ever won victories with a discontented army.*" Hence you see, the American capitalists try to make the biggest noise in order to becloud the obvious fact that the whole economic base "for a contented working man" is crumbling; they try to glorify into a new era their efforts at separation of the employed from the unemployed and part employed by offering their rationalization schemes to the steadily employed worker as a partnership. It is, however, not so easy to fool the workers on concrete material things, hence they are already answering by a mass flight from the A. F. of L. controlled miners union, needle trades union, and by a wave of strikes, particularly in the South under Communist influence and leadership. Glorified company unionism (characteristic form of trade union fascization in U. S.) with the camouflage of being independent of the capitalists because of its A. F. of L. label, will no more succeed than the company

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unions of 1921-25. In spite of the crawling eagerness of the A. F. of L. leaders to be recognized as "the standard unions" patented by Hoover and the latter's assistance and help through "Federal contracts for government construction work" etc., and the assurance by the U. S. Department of Labor to the employers to the effect that "*the American Federation of Labor has always shown a willingness to cooperate with the Government and the employers.*" The contradictory interests amongst the capitalists (inner contradictions) themselves make the establishment of "standard" fascist unions no easy matter, and as far as imposing this type of unionism upon the workers, there will have to be many defeats and battles before the mass of workers will even acquiesce temporarily to such "partnership" slavery.

Already important groups of employers are angling for a new "labor" leadership (Muste unions), a clear sign of the narrowing base of reformism, and the maturing of vast revolutionary struggles under Communist leadership. Sir Henry is mistaken, it is not a "contented" army that is being created by the A. F. of L. and Sir Henry's and Hoover's "standard" unions, but a disillusioned and discontented one that is moving to the Left, a movement that may be more or less effectively hampered by the Muste "Lefts" if our Party does not completely liquidate the opportunist practices of the "prosperity" period, but which essentially and inevitably goes in our direction. Yes, Sir Henry, we agree, capitalism "*however great its skill cannot win victories with a discontented army.*"

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Resolution of the Sixth Session of E. C. of the Profintern

(*And the Next Plenum of Our Party*)

By M. ALPI

FROM the day on which the C. I. set the line for our Party to follow, by the open letter, our Party made a very good advance from an ideological and organizational point of view, especially after the last plenum of the C. C. in which we fixed the tasks for the future.

Today, in place of some hundreds of renegades, the next plenum of the C. C. will find the Party strengthened by thousands of new members, by thousands of new workers who joined the Party in the last weeks through the recruiting drive. The Party marches forward in quick tempo and the frightening cries of the different renegades who live on speculation will not hold back the march of the real and only vanguard of the working class of the U. S.

One of the most important tasks of the next plenum will be to coordinate better all the forces of the Party, to strengthen itself organizationally, structurally, and to fix on the basis of the analysis of the situation the new practical tasks for tomorrow, the most important of which shall be the concentration of the Party forces in the building of the T. U. U. L.

The resolution of the last session of the Profintern points out clearly the route that we shall follow. In general the resolutions do not bring anything new or changed in comparison with the Party resolutions and with the resolutions of the T. U. U. L. *The great importance of the resolutions is that they confirmed the correctness of the resolutions of the last plenum of our Party in the analysis of the situation which was made by the C. C.; that it brought out very sharply the characteristics of the actual situation.* In the resolution we find the same line of all the resolutions since the Fourth Congress of the Profintern and the Sixth World Congress of the C. I.

In the resolution we find reflected the situation of today. We can say that the Fourth Congress of the Profintern was part of the preparations for the Sixth World Congress of the C. I. and that the development of all the resolutions after this time is the correct reflection of the development of the situation after the two

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world congresses—the reflection of the sharpening of all the characteristics of the third period which we fixed in the last Congress.

We might get the impression that from that time till now the situation is totally changed, but in reality it is not so. We have no new characteristic on the basis of which we could correct our line. The most important fact is the *sharpening of the characteristics*, —the clearer expressions of the bourgeois dictatorship, the development of fascism and social-fascism, as a method of hindering the march of the workers' movement; to check its own crash; the development in the preparation of the war against the Soviet Union that today is not only expressed through the London Conference and the war preparation in the countries on the S. U. frontier, but also in the open "holy campaign of all churches," instruments of the capitalist system, for the purpose of preparing public opinion for the war, etc.

It is here, in the understanding of the real situation, especially as far as war preparations against the S. U. are concerned, as well as in the understanding of the increase of the inner contradictions and the increase of the contradiction between imperialist powers.

I heard the following expression: "The war will come, must come, but it really is not here yet, neither against the Soviet Union nor between the imperialist powers. Maybe we see the danger too near." This from a worker, from a Party member. This expression of a worker who cannot understand the real immediate war danger is itself a big danger and shows us clearly the influence of the bourgeois press and of the press of all renegades and opportunists on the workers who cannot understand that the preparation for the war against the Soviet Union is not a simple question, and who forget that the war has already begun, and that the truce in Manchuria represents only a pause for the preparation of a new attack. They can lose themselves for a while and do not see that we live in a stage during the process of which we will come to a greater extension of the war under the rapid development of the general crisis of capitalism.

Why such misunderstanding? Because many times we are too mechanical in the explanation of our thesis. Today we must make clearer and clearer that, for example, the London Conference represents not only a new step in the preparation of the war against the Soviet Union, but represents also the increasing of the contradictions between the imperialist powers.

The fact that they look for the forming of a united front against the Soviet Union tells us that the contradictions between the imperialist powers are stronger in spite of all masks.

On which basis are the contradictions stronger? On the basis of the inner contradictions which are increasing in every country. The

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increase of the number of unemployed masses in all the imperialist countries is a clear sign. These contradictions cannot be overcome through conferences. During all the international discussions of the capitalists we see the increasing of the struggle for the world market and on this basis a greater pressure on the colonial people which leads to a sharpening of the confiict between the imperialist countries and the colonial and semi-colonial people, which shows itself in the development of the revolutionary movement, as, for example, in India, Korea, China, etc.

We face a movement in which appears always clearer the contrast between two great forces—*on the one hand*, the forward march of the working masses of the colonial and semi-colonial people and the increase of the rationalization process, unemployment, wage cuts, strong exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial people, a movement which clearly takes the character of a political struggle, with the imperialist countries taking very clearly a dictatorial character that before was covered by the mask of bourgeois democracy. *On the other hand*, the capitalists who try every effort to overcome the situation in which they find themselves, but because capitalism is not a united force, and because of the contradictions on the basis of national capitalism, on the basis of the contrast among the monopolists who are not only divided, we find them making the biggest effort to strengthen themselves, their state apparatus, on the line of a clearer and clearer state capitalism. We find them making an effort to unite all the reactionary forces as a whole against the working class, including, together with the church, the social democracy, the Second International, and all the elements which go to unite with their own class, not only to overcome the inner situation but to strengthen themselves also for the struggle on the market.

What is it all about? This union, more than the sharpening of the class struggle, is a quicker differentiation of the classes on the basis of the increase of the general crisis of capitalism. The working class moves toward the subjective situations which from day to day urge it to become more and more class conscious. These actual struggles in all countries show that very clearly. The capitalist powers with all their forces try to stand firmly on their feet, and so started an offensive against the working class as an attempt for their own salvation, as an attempt to strengthen their own position on the world market and at the same time all together try to build a united front for the attack against the Soviet Union which represents not only a danger as a socialist country, but in addition a danger as a socialist industrial country, which is a greater factor in the increase of the general crisis of capitalism.

We have not something new, *but a very sharpening of the class*

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struggle on a world scale which will take the character of war against the Soviet Union and of war between the imperialist powers themselves, especially between those countries whose conflict of interests is greater; and in both cases, civil war in the capitalist countries. It is dangerous to see in this period, on the basis of the sharpening of the characteristics which will bring to the greatest revolutionary class struggles new victories for the proletariat, something new—a new period.

We have a development of the situation and in this development we will have victories, and maybe also defeats. Our march can be slower or quicker (that depends also upon our capacity to lead the struggle), *but we cannot have the perspective that capitalism can overcome its own contradictions, can stabilize itself.*

In the line of this development we can have a slower march and also a momentary stop, but precisely on the basis of the possible momentary check of the workers' movement will go the contradiction of the struggle, which will strengthen itself for the overthrow of capitalism in the country or in those countries in which the crisis will manifest itself sharply, in which capitalism is weak, or in those countries in which the capitalist apparatus is very strong and thus is prepared the basis for the transformation of the capitalist system into the socialist system, in which just because the capitalist machine is so strong, the contradictions will be greater, and the class struggle will take such forms as history has not yet registered.

We shall see the whole movement and on the basis of the actual situation also the future perspectives, the development of events, and not only see one or two characteristics of the situation, a phase of this period and on the basis of this develop our theories. The latter would be undialectic.

If we speak of new periods we go directly into the field of the right-winger, who does not see the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism. It is also wrong to divide the period into stages, because in that case there is the danger that in an eventual period of relative, apparent calm, in which there will develop greater contradictions, *we will find people who will see a new relative stabilization and develop theories of a new period.*

"The third period is not separated by any wall from a direct revolutionary situation." (Molotov, from his speech in the eleventh session of the C. I.) In the third period in which the contradictions are from day to day stronger, we find that capitalism tries with all its might to check the workers' movement, and these efforts take the character of a general offensive of capitalism against the working class. On the other hand, under the condition of the increase of the exploitation, of the increase of reaction, the work-

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ing class of every country more or less started a counter-offensive, and before the action of all the reactionary forces, together with the state apparatus, the character of the struggle becomes more and more political.

Also in the United States the working class advances in a counter-offensive against the capitalist offensive. The examples of the struggles in the South, in Illinois, the increasing of the movement of the unemployed masses, are clear signs of the development of the class struggle, of the increase of the working class offensive, of the strengthening of the class consciousness of the working class of America.

What are our tasks in this situation? The resolution of the Sixth Session of the Council of the Profintern points out the general line to follow in the trade union work. On this basis we must work out the practical immediate tasks to translate into reality, to concretize the work.

If the T. U. U. L. cannot go forward as quickly as we wish, it is because we generalize too much the problems, because we do not define enough the practical tasks step by step. In general, it is a weakness in our Party to generalize the problems in the lower units of our Party. For example, we hear the same speeches as at the top. The links between the top and the basis of our organization are too weak. They have not the capacity to fix, on the basis of the general line, the practical tasks in their sphere of action.

Another reason for the slow march of the T. U. U. L. is that the organizers are only agitators. We do not concentrate all our forces in building up one or two of the most important unions, which would be the basis of the T. U. U. L., so that it might build itself up more independently.

In our trade union movement many comrades are not free of the idea that everything must be done from New York, from the center, which idea leads to a direct killing of the initiative of the lower units. Our trade union forces are very weak and there still exists the wrong conception that we must have an expert for the different branches of the industries, and for many comrades it is yet difficult to understand that what we need is to have real experts in the trade union field in general, free from the old conception of American trade unionism, that in the most important industrial centers we fail in capable comrades who can lead the whole trade union work, that we work too much on the basis of enthusiasm instead of a real situation.

The Cleveland Convention, of course, was the foundation of the Trade Union Unity League, and from this point of view it was an historical event of the revolutionary workers' movement

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in the United States, but the weakness was that after the seven hundred delegates went back to the shops, mills and mines, they did not bring the slogans of the convention to the masses, they did no practical organization work which was assigned to them. They depended too much on the center.

In general we find too much discussion about general problems instead of the practical problems which come out of the general line of the resolutions. In the treatment of the problems we find remains of the old narrow method of discussion.

For example, now, in the raising of the question as to whether we should strike immediately or build the sub-committees first. Why such a discussion, especially between the comrades of the center and the comrades of the lower units? Because we do not give the practical tasks, but too general discussion. The raising of such a question is very poor. It is the same as to put such a question as: "Shall we build the Party first or have the revolution first?" This is a narrow method of thought that must be corrected.

The situation is a strike situation in general. In this situation it is our duty to build the sub-committees all over the country in all factories, mills, mines, etc. If a strike breaks out, we shall try to lead it with all our efforts. If the sub-committees have been built, so much the better. On this basis we will develop our movement. If the sub-committees are not here we must try to get contact with the masses to lead the strike and at the same time build not only the sub-committees but the unions through the struggle.

The general situation is a strike situation, but this does not mean that the strike is already ripe all over and will break simultaneously in every place, for if it were so we would have an immediate revolutionary situation. We must be prepared to take the direction of the strikes where they break out—for example, in Illinois. At the same time we must concentrate all our forces to build the sub-committees and the T. U. U. L. so that we shall be better prepared to lead the strikes, and especially the greater struggle of the near future.

The existing unions are too little involved in the problem of building the T. U. U. L. The Party? Yes, the Party shall give more forces for the purpose of building the T. U. U. L. The Party in the past underestimated the great importance of building up the revolutionary unions, and the trade union movement was considered as something far and separate from the Party, and with the exception of the heads of the T. U. U. L. not the best elements were appointed to the head of the unions.

We must not forget that the Party had to overcome a difficult situation and that *only now the Party has strengthened itself from*

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every point of view and that on this basis it will concentrate all its forces in the building of the T. U. U. L.; that thousands of workers are now joining the Party in quick tempo, and this shows how favorable the situation is also to build the revolutionary unions.

It is true that we have here a disproportion, but this disproportion shall not frighten us. We shall be satisfied that our Party is growing quickly and that on the basis of the strengthening of the Party this will better concentrate our own forces in the building of the T. U. U. L.

It is my strong conviction that in the United States, in which the capitalist machine is so strong, in which the increase of the crisis will throw on the streets many more millions of unemployed, and the wages will be cut still more, that in such a situation we will now be in a position to take a strong lead in the working class struggle. Unitil now we have seen our weakness in forces, in the organization of the unemployed masses, in the leading of the strikes, etc. This means that now, *together with the increase of the strength of the Party, all our forces must be concentrated in the building of the T. U. U. L., in the organizational work, not only for the organization of the unemployed masses, but for the organization of the unorganized masses.*

It is true that the Party is the vanguard, the leader of the working class, but it is also true that we must be connected with the large masses through the auxiliary organizations, and firstly through the revolutionary trade unions, and only then will we really lead the large masses on a correct revolutionary line.

The summary of all the results of the Party since the last plenum, the strengthening of the Party from an organizational and ideological point of view, the pointing out of the immediate tasks and primarily the task of concentrating our forces in the building up of the T. U. U. L., will be the task of the next plenum of our Party so that the next convention will find not only a strong Party but also a strong T. U. U. L.

We must build not only the Party of the revolutionary unions, but the revolutionary unions themselves.

The time when the Party will lead the largest mass to the biggest struggle that the history of the working class movement in America has yet registered is not far away.

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The Struggle for the World Steel Markets

By HARRY GANNES

ON February 1, 1930, the European Steel Cartel, which comprises the leading steel industries of Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugo Slavia, Luxemburg, and the Saar Valley, organized its international export organization for a concerted drive for the world steel markets.

In the present world crisis of capitalism, this presages tremendous rivalries and antagonisms in the struggle of the imperialists for the world steel markets. In a cable dispatch to the New York Times (Jan. 29, 1930), the correspondent Carlisle MacDonald wrote that the purpose of the new export organization of the powerful European Steel Cartel was as follows:

"Through this new system the Continental steel industry will pursue with added efficiency its campaign for broader world markets. While the new arrangement is temporary, extending only until August 1st, it is generally regarded as the first move in a concerted effort to capture more foreign trade. . . . . "

"Thus, members of the cartel, instead of maintaining separate offices in various countries of the world, as has been their custom, will materially reduce their overhead and at the same time increase their efficiency by having one cooperative office in each foreign city."

There is no secret about the fact that the main struggle for markets between the steel trusts of the various imperialist countries centers about North and South America as well as in the Near and Far East.

In view of the sharpening antagonisms of the imperialist powers, the rapid war preparations, chiefly expressed at the London race-for-armament conference, and the growing world crisis of imperialism, the precipitous race for more of the world markets is of the utmost importance.

What are the relation of forces of the world steel capitalists? When the news that the European Steel Cartel was organizing for a concerted drive for more world markets was brought to the attention of the leading steel trust in the United States, the U. S. Steel Corporation, executives of the company announced that: "Any move to broaden the world markets of European manufacturers is construed as fresh competition, so far as American manufacturers

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are concerned. . . . The export division of the Steel Corporation has a larger stake in the world markets, it was said, than has the entire cartel of Europe." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 30, 1930).

There were rumors, denied by the U. S. Steel Corporation, that the American steel trust has big interest in the European cartel. The fact is the U. S. Steel corporation has a large, but not controlling interest, in the leading steel plants of Germany, which produce more than 43 per cent of the steel marketed by the European Cartel.

This by no means eliminates the drastic world competition which arises out of the new drive for world markets. The struggle for the world steel markets is now a three-cornered fight. On the one hand there is the United States steel trusts; then there is the European Steel Cartel; and fighting both for a larger share of the world markets are the British steel manufacturers, who are more or less united.

The new policy of the European Steel Cartel arises from two facts mainly.

1) The present crisis of world capitalism is hitting the steel industries particularly hard in Germany, the United States, France and England. The home markets are narrowing fast. Especially is this true in the United States with a sharp decline in automobile production and a tremendous drop in the demand for structural steel for building operations.

2) During 1929, steel exports from the United States reached the highest point since 1920. The American steel trusts are consciously expanding their world markets. In 1929, U. S. steel exports totaled 3,032,352 gross tons, an increase of 5.8 per cent over 1928. Imports into the United States dropped 5.9 per cent from 1928 and were the lowest since 1924. This hit particularly the European Steel Cartel. The largest increase of steel exports from the United States were to Canada, Japan, Mexico, and Italy—precisely those markets that the European Steel Cartel is striving to intensify its efforts to gain.

With the fact admitted by the steel executives themselves, that steel production in the U. S. during 1930 will drop at least between 15 and 20 per cent, there is little doubt that the steel bosses in the United States will spur their attempts to grasp a greater share of the world markets.

The European Steel Cartel was organized in 1926 because the bitter competition between the new steel industry of French imperialism, and the reorganized steel industry of the German capitalists, in the face of American and British competition, threatened by the French and German Steel bosses with ruin.

By agreement, the annual output of the steel syndicate was to

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reach a minimum of 26,000,000 tons and a maximum of 30,000,000 tons, to be apportioned among the various imperialists —Germany, 43.50 per cent; France, 31.19 per cent; Belgium, 11.56 per cent; Luxemburg, 8.55 per cent; and Saar Valley 5.20 per cent. Production for 1929 was fixed at 29,587,000 tons. The Czechoslovakian, Austrian and Hungarian steel makers joined the European steel combine later; and the Jugo Slavian steel interests joined in 1927.

Thus, the European Steel Cartel controls more than 20 per cent of the world's steel output, while the United States steel trusts account for 9.8 per cent of the world steel production.

The steel production in 1928 of the leading imperialist powers was as follows:

U. S.	51,544,000 tons	49.9 per cent of world total	
Germany	14,517,000 "	14.3 " " " " " "	
France	9,386,000 "	9.2 " " " " " "	
Belgium	3,934,000 "	3.6 " " " " " "	

While the main result of these relations of forces, particularly on the basis of the deep-going nature of the present world crisis, points to the sharpest competition for the world markets, we must take the statement of the U. S. Steel Corporation that "there is no direct or indirect relation" between it and the European Steel Cartel with a good-sized grain of salt.

The European Steel Cartel, with Germany's steel industry playing the leading role, was formed in the days of the Dawes Plan when "More than $500,000,000 of American capital has been poured into Germany," in 30 months, "according to a survey of foreign securities offered in the United States issued by the U. S. dept. of commerce" (Leland Olds, F. P. Service, July 20, 1926).

At that time, also, the leading steel companies in Germany were being merged into the August Thysenhutte Gewerkschaft (now called the United Steel Works of Germany) which produces more than 40 per cent of the total German steel output.

To facilitate this merger, Dillon, Read and Co., Wall Street bankers, intimately connected with Morgan and Co., Kuhn, Loeb and Co., and through these with the United Steel Corporation, made a short-term loan of $5,000,000 to the Thysen steel interests. The New York Times of June 15, 1926 reported that:

"Negotiations for the merger have been in progress for several months. On completion of the consolidation program it is expected that a bond issue of approximately $50,000,000 will be offered by a syndicate headed by Dillon, Read and Co."

Here we see the gentle nursing and grooming of the German

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steel industry by the firm and interested hand of the United States Steel Corporation. During 1925, Fried, Krupp, Ltd. Steel Works, floated a $10,000,000 loan in the U. S., and the August Thysen Iron and Steel Works floated a $12,000,000 loan—all under the gentle guidance of Dillon, Read and Co.,—which, translated into more understandable terms, means J. P. Morgan, and the United States Steel Corporation. "Several other Stinnes properties (mainly in heavy steel industry) are reported to have fallen into American hands." ("American Foreign Investments," Robert Dunn p. 147).

The extent of the interests of the United States Steel Corporation and the American bankers in the European Steel Cartel are not known to date. That they are large is very clear from the above facts. However, these interests do not overshadow the ferocious competition between the various steel trusts and cartels that is at present developing for a greater share of the world's steel markets.

For the U. S. steel trusts more world markets are a life-and-death matter. In December steel production in this country dropped to 38 per cent of capacity—the lowest point in 46 years, with two exceptions, 1907 and 1893. While steel production is rising somewhat in the United States to 70 and 75 per cent (Dec.-Jan.) of capacity as against 85 to 90 per cent in 1929, the increase is built on shifting sands.

The two main bulwarks of the steel trade, automobiles and building, have been knocked into a cocked hat. The building industry has been going down for five years. In 1929 it dropped 13 per cent; in the first month of 1930 it declined 15.8 per cent below 1929—showing a 21.9 per cent reduction below 1928. The demand for structural steel is especially low. The Annalist (January 31, 1930) says:

"We face the fact, therefore, that a full two months after President Hoover's business conferences for the resuscitation of business, particularly in the construction field, no upturn is visible on the face of the returns."

The Annalist continues and points out that no upturn can be expected for at least a year. Here we have the startling fact that with the tremendous pressure exerted by Hoover and all of the governors of 48 states—the net result is a decline of 15.8 per cent more in building operations!

The automoblie industry, which "normally" absorbs more than 20 per cent of the total U. S. steel output, is in even a worse crisis. The most optimistic of the automobile heads claim production in 1930 will be cut not more than 1,200,000 cars—20 per cent. Even this estimate is based on the successful outcome of a terrific drive for more of the world's markets, and the organization of the

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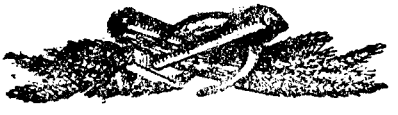
European automobile bosses to meet and fight this competition every inch of the way.

With the drop in freight car loadings, and more than 450,000 unused freight cars in good conditions lying in the freight yards, the slight spurt of railroad steel buying will soon die away to invisible proportions. The much-vaunted promises of increased utility building promised Hoover by the utilities executives in November, 1929, is best exemplified by the New York Edison Co., which cut its burget for 1930 by more than $3,000,000.

In order to stimulate buying, the steel companies have been rapidly cutting prices. The Iron Age, mouthpiece of the steel trusts, reports that the composite price for finished steel dropped 2.3 cents a pound, the lowest since November, 1927. In several rolling mills the price of steel dropped so low that there was an automatic cut in wages among the highly skilled steel workers who have an agreement with the bosses based on a sliding scale gauged by the price of steel. In the Youngstown mills there was a slash of 20 per cent in piece work rates, and a speeding-up of production.

All this points to a battle for the world markets the like of which has never been seen. The resulting antagonisms intensify the war danger.



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U. S. Agriculture and Tasks of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

(*Continued from February issue*)

(a) There is no doubt that some farmers live in comparative comfort, in spite of "making no money" (accumulation) due to the chronic agrarian crisis and the extortions of finance capital. Capitalist propaganda, which has hardly yet given up the fostering of illusions about "free land in the West" continues to delude everyone with the supposed high standard of the Corn Belt farmer, citing him as the "typical" American farmer, whereas the Corn Belt farmer is only about one-third of the American farmers and, moreover, his average family standard is declining. In both the corn and wheat areas the crisis has brought sharp class differentiation, the majority having no credit, while the rich, who have the privilege of credit, take advantage of the creditless farmer by employing him, when profitable, at wage labor.

(b) In judging the categories, we may be guided by the standard of living of the average farm family, as the big majority of farms are "family size." As Carr puts it: "The average farm is a definite concept, an economic unit varying in size according to the section in which it is located, but still definite in that it is that amount of agricultural resources which can be handled by a farmer and his family." This is shown from the fact that while there were 6,448,343 farms in 1920, there were only 2,055,276 real farm proletarians (those "working out"), and undoubtedly the more capitalistic farms employed varying but large numbers on a single farm.

(c) The U. S. Department of Agriculture states that the average income per farm family in 1927-28 was $717, which it admits is 27% below the average in 1919-20. Since this includes the well-to-do rich farmers, we can understand that the income standard of the lower strata is miserable indeed. Although apologists of capitalism try to center all attention on the "typical" farmer, the once-prosperous "Corn Belt" farmer, on the mechanized farm of the rich farmer, and dismiss as a slothful exception the "one-horse farmer," even Carr, the alarmed bourgeois, states: "About 40% of our farmers are actually one-horse farmers, and their

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standard of living is indescribably, unbelievably and pitiably low." There has been an effort to convince the world that "in America every farmer has an automobile, a tractor and a radio." But this is only a beautifying falsehood. In obscure statistics we find that the following is given for 1920 (except radios, given for 1925):

Total number farms	6,448,343
Farms with autos	1,979,564
Farms with motor trucks	131,551
Farms with tractors	229,332
Farms with phones	2,498,498
With piped water	643,899
With gas or electric	452,620
With radios (1925)	284,608

We see that the blessings of capitalism are for the minority of capitalist farmers, and that the vast majority, not alone in these advantages, but in all things, food, clothing, shelter, education, culture, are living in deprivation and "darkness." The Southern "cropper" (a form of contract labor about which Lenin said: "Capitalism smashed slavery fifty years ago only to be able to *restore* it now in a new form—in the form of share-cropping.") undoubtedly lives an existence worse than many farm animals.

While warning against the probable beautifying (if one could so describe it) of the relative conditions of the Negro in the table given below, it is nevertheless of some value as showing how—with allowances for generous padding even on this—the income of the lower strata of farmers compares to the "average of $717" as given by the Department of Agriculture. This table is from a survey of farms in North Carolina, by Branson and Dickey:

	Gross cash income per year, per family	*Gross income per day, per person*
White owners	$626	$0.34
Colored owners	597	.32
White renters	251	.14
Colored renters	289	.16
White croppers	153	.08
Colored croppers	197	.10

The above table of the North Carolina cropper's average family

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income, low as that income is shown to be, is known, from all reports from these croppers themselves as to the facts of their lives, to still be deceptive, to beautify their misery, since the bourgeois statisticians "reckons" in such income, so much for this and so much for that, which the farmer never really gets. Statisticians, for example, reckon in "the average net income for labor and management" of all farms in the United States, which they determine as being $717, a sum of $117, which they say they get by first "fixing" the real income at $600, then "by adding a small figure for the average rental value of the farm home"—they pad the total up to $717. By this "bookkeeper's" addition of $117 for "rental" which a farmer *would* pay if he were not a farmer, who has, if an owner, already paid for his "home" or, if a renter, already pays for as part of his rent, the farm family income statistics are made to show that he gets $117 "income" more than he does. At the same time, the miserable hovels in which a large percentage of American farmers live, some of which are even worse than the peasant houses of Tsarist Russia and more resemble the huts of Chinese peasants in the Yangtze Valley, are made to appear in the dignity of "homes." One may be certain that the 278,736 white, and the 344,322 colored croppers (figures of 1925) in the south, would be glad indeed if they could in the course of a year, lay hands upon $117 of real money, not to mention the "average family income of $717." It is this utter poverty which makes the miserable wages of southern industry so tempting, giving the thrill, temporary indeed, of handling actual cash.

Nor do the above statistics reveal the usury practiced against these poor farmers by landlords, who follow the customs of feudalism such as remain in the Philippines and all agrarian lands—forbidding the tenant to raise his own garden and forcing him to buy vegetables and other supplies from the landlord, a practice comparable to the "company store" in industry; the custom of loaning the tenant money or seed to be returned from the crop at outrageously usurious rates. They are forbidden not only gardens, but chickens or cows—and thus are denied the simple farm-raised foods necessary to health. It is this actual starvation which accounts for the endemic disease of pellagra, which makes the southern tenantry distinctive even physically as ill-nourished and malformed compared to the "average" American, as unsatisfactory as such "average" may be. Some indication of this situation as prevailing in ten southern states are given from the Wall Street Journal of November 26, 1926, which show that in these ten states there are:

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	Number	*Per cent*
Total number of farmers	2,559,435	100
White farmers	1,708,494	67
Colored farmers	841,941	33
Raising cotton	1,872,236	73
Raising no pigs	1,438,544	56
Having no cow	945,333	37
Having no chickens	950,980	38
Raising no sweet potatoes	1,481,297	58
Raising no Irish potatoes	2,005,393	79
Raising no garden whatever	597,247	23

Such a morass of misery, illiteracy, and disease as exists in the south among the agricultural masses can only be wiped out by the fire of revolution. It is most necessary that the revolutionary party of the proletariat attain a directing role among the agrarian population now stirring with the spirit of revolt. Agrarian revolution is a petty bourgeois revolution inherently, and has not the stability of the revolutionary movement of the industrial proletariat. It tends to vacillations between supporting the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and aiding the bourgeoisie to suppress the proletariat. While in America its role will not be so great in relation to the proletarian revolutionary movement as it is in less industrialized lands, it is none the less of extreme importance to the revolutionary proletariat. The violent forms of agrarian revolt often fascinate Communist workers into forgetting the essentially petty bourgeois character of agrarian movements and yielding hegemony to it in the general revolt against the big bourgeoisie.

The danger of this in America is not so great, however, as is the danger of Communists ignoring the agrarian revolutionary movement, or letting it fall into the hands of the enemy (recalling the Paris Commune) when it could with comparative ease be brought in as an aid, a reinforcement to the proletarian revolution. The Communists can neither rely upon the agrarian masses supporting it without proletarian guidance, nor ignore these masses as "unimportant," nor assume the opportunist attitude that they are "one reactionary mass."

With the growth of the crisis and the fascization of government, the agencies of the bourgeoisie who are already busy among the agrarian masses—are attempting even now to shape agrarian discontent into counter-revolutionary forms. Such is, for example, the role of the Ku Klux Klan in the South and North as well. All forms of reformist groupings, the "Farm Bloc," the socialist party,

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the Musteites, the Lore-Lovestone-Cannon influences, will aid the big bourgeoisie toward fascisizing agrarian discontent against the revolutionary proletariat, as all these elements, however "left" their disguise, oppose Communist Party hegemony over the masses in preparatory periods and in the period of crucial struggle for power are on the other side of the barricades, playing the roles of demoralizing disruption among the elements which give vacillating support to revolution.

(d) Our Party must be vigilant and determined in agrarian work, particularly in the South and West, to wipe out the racial antagonisms by which the bourgeoisie has kept the agrarian poor divided and subordinated. While statistics indicate that the white farmers outnumber the Negro farmers in the South, and the North Carolina survey paints the Negro tenant and cropper as just a shade less miserable than the "poor white," both are living at degraded standards, yet the Negro croppers outnumber the white and are said to hold the poorest quality of land, to be forced more than the white to sell their products at extortionate price to white buyers, as semi-proletarians to be forced to work at lower wages than the white. There is even a law in Mississippi designed to prevent migration from farm to industry of Negro farm poor. For its own interest, not that of the poor white farmer, the bourgeoisie inject race prejudice between the white and Negro poor, insisting on all forms of "Jim Crowism" to socially oppress and politically outlaw the disfranchised Negro. The Communist Party must unequivocally demand complete equality for the Negro, eradicate white chauvinism among the poor white agrarian masses by showing them their prejudice is the instrument of oppression, by the big bourgeoisie, of both white and black. Both in the Agricultural Union of the T. U. U. L. and in the United Farmers' Educational League Communists must stand firmly for racial equality not only for the Negro, but also for the Mexican, Filipino, Chinese and Japanese.

(e) While the padded nature of the average farm family income previously cited ($717 in 1927-28) has already been mentioned, the sum of $600 being given as a basis, we may accept this as probably the approximate income of the middle farmer, the "20 per cent moderately poor" of Carr. This middle farmer's conditions are affected adversely by the growth of the agrarian crisis and will become still worse for the majority with the deepening of the general crisis and the application of all the fake "remedies" and "solutions" being foisted upon agriculture by the Farm Board. It is to be noted that, while the Southern farming masses have long existed in a morass of chronic misery, it is not these, but

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the grain-growing farmers, whose conditions have suddenly and sharply worsened, that have first sought, though in vain, for adequate political expression. This has drawn attention to the grain area and made it appear the only "sick spot" in American agriculture. The reduced demand for agricultural products which results from the rapid advance of the recent general crisis will, however, cause a sudden decline of conditions throughout all American agriculture, and hence an awakening of clamorous agrarian discontent in all sections. It is this which the Communist Party must give due attention to. It might be remarked here that this petty bourgeois agrarian movement will assume, indeed, it does now assume, a much sharper political importance than the movement of agricultural wage proletarians.

(f) A special survey of 11,851 owner-operated farms in all sections, in 1928, when receipts were said to be the best since the post-war depression began, showed gross receipts of $2,608 and operating expense, including $394 for hired labor (or 25.9 per cent), with a net of $1,090, which, though inadequate for family support, still places those farmers receiving it in the category of rich farmers compared to those who receive income of the poor and middle farmers, who certainly draw such comparisons in life itself.

(*To be concluded next month*)

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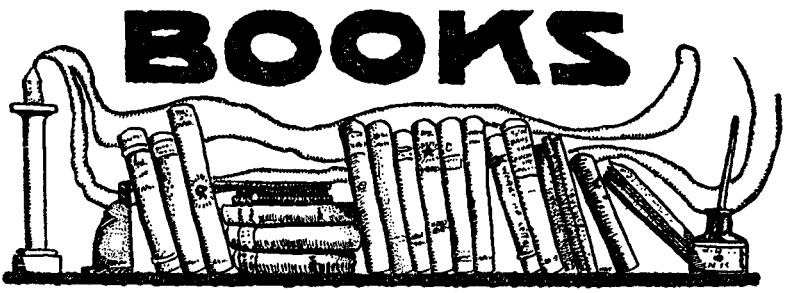

TH. ROTHSTEIN: From CHARTISM TO LABORISM. International Publishers. New York, 1930, 365 pp. 8vo. . . . . $2.50.

Rothstein's book was written over a period of twenty years, and much of the material appeared originally in the *Neue Zeit*, at one time the scientific organ of international Marxism. The above title accurately reflects the contents of the volume which consists of two parts: the epoch of Chartism and the period of trade unionism. The first part consists of three independent but choronologically and inherently continuous studies an analysis of the rise and decline of the Chartist movement a discussion of pre-Marxist, Chartist heralds of the class struggle; and a study of the roots of the First International in the British labor movement. The second part is an analysis of the ideology and the historical, class character of class-collaborationist British trade unionism.

Rothstein's study is a valuable contribution of more than mere historical, academic interest. It supplies a wealth of evidence demonstrating the practical as well as the theoretical superiority of the revolutionary, proletarian tactics of class struggle. At the same time, it exposes the complete bankruptcy of opportunism, of the policy of collaborating with the capitalist class and the bourgeois parties.

Rothstein asserts correctly that "in our age of mortal struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, in which opportunism, long since allied with the ruling bourgeoisie and enthroned in the seats of the mighty in state and society, openly marches hand in hand with the bloodiest reaction, cynically casting every principle of Socialism overboard,—it is in place to expose its true character historically as well, and to reveal it in its entire repulsiveness to the hundreds of thousands of proletarians who unfortunately still follow it"

The very first study on Chartism reveals the class character of opportunism in the labor movement. It shows that the historical struggle between opportunist and revolutionary tactics is rooted in the conflict between the petty-bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that the tactics of opportunism are petty-bourgeois, while the revolutionary tactics are truly proletarian.

The Chartist movement developed the first proletarian party to base its tactics on the class struggle and to set up as its immediate goal the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect, Marx and Engels continued the work and tradition of Chartism, and the Bolshevik Revolution first realize its aim. The British proletariat today cannot be charged with the "crim of borrowing from the experiences of other sections of the world proleta

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